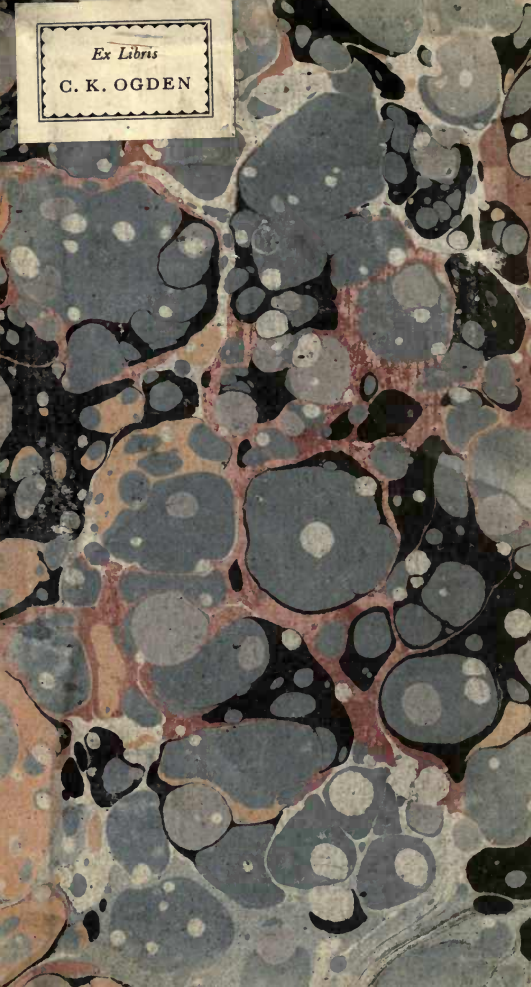
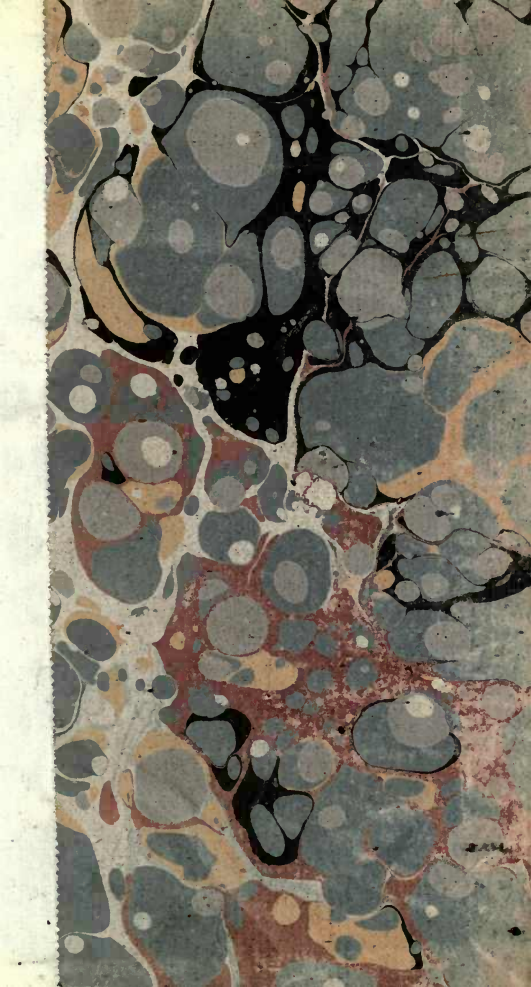


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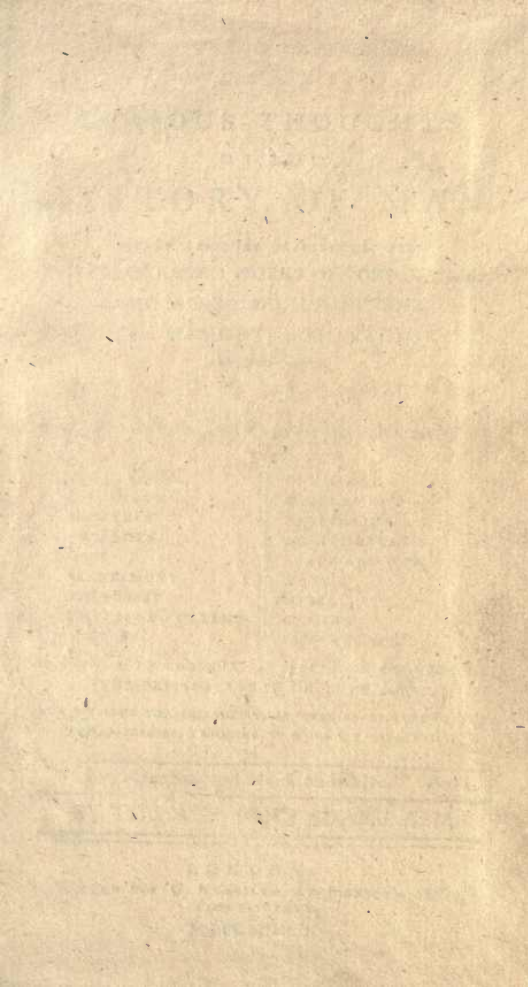






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CURIOUS THOUGHTS ON THE *History* HISTORY OF MAN;

CHIEFLY ABRIDGED OR SELECTED FROM
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LORD MONBODDO, DR. DUNBAR,
AND THE IMMORTAL MONTESQUIEU:

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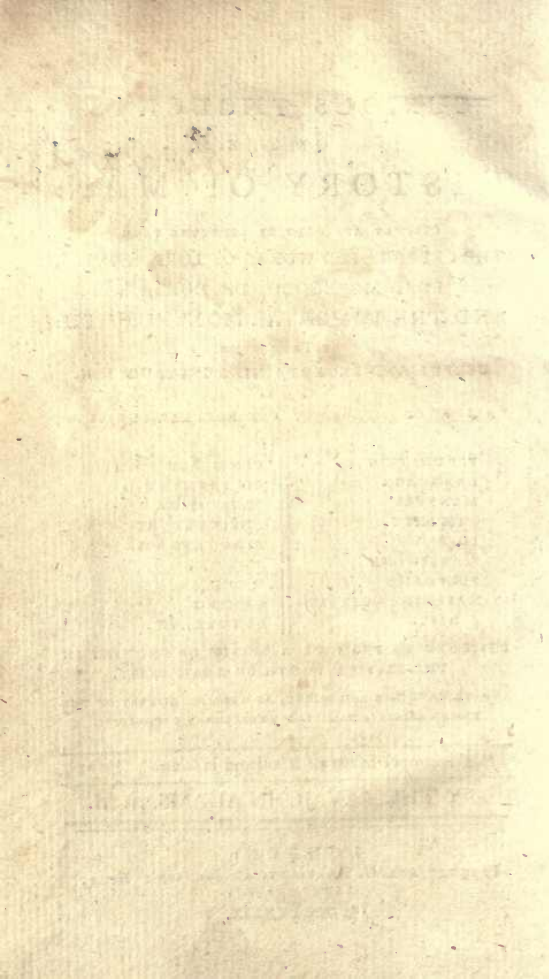
“The proper Study of Mankind is Man.” POPE.

BY THE REV. JOHN ADAMS, A. M.

L O N D O N :

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MDCC LXXXIX.



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THE Grecian sage was declared to be the wisest of men, for uttering this sentence, "Know thyself." Human nature is a very interesting subject, and ought to be well understood. We may study it in the page of history, in our own passions and actions, and in those of others. Without a competent knowledge of mankind, we shall be but ill qualified to act our part on the theatre of the world.

In the following sheets, such a delightful view is given of this subject, and so many ingenious sentiments do every where present themselves, as must afford an elegant entertainment to all who take pleasure in reading, and engage them to say, in the beautiful language of the poet,

" Let us, since life can little more supply
" Than just to look about us and to die,
" Expatriate free o'er all this scene of man,
" A mighty maze! but not without a plan."

A 2

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C O N T E N T S.

Chap.		Page
I.	O N the social Nature of Man - - -	1
II.	O n the chief Causes which gave rise to civil Society - - -	6
III.	On Hunting and the Pastoral Life - -	11
IV.	On Population - - -	15
V.	On Property - - -	17
VI.	On Commerce - - -	21
VIII.	On Manners - - -	29
VII.	On the taste for Cleanliness - -	32
IX.	Remarks on several Nations, respecting Cleanliness - - -	34
X.	On Language - - -	37
XI.	On the Criterion of a polished Tongue	42
XII.	On Music - - -	44
XIII.	On the Simplicity of ancient Manners	47
	A 3	XIV. On

Chap.	Page
XIV. On Cruelty and Humanity -	48
XV. Of indelicate Manners - -	50
XVI. Instances of low ancient Manners	53
XVII. On the Influence of War on the human Character - -	55
XVIII. On the Influence of Persecution on Manners - -	57
XIX. On Selfishness - -	58
XX. On the Influence of Opulence on Manners - - -	61
XXI. On the Intention of Light and Darknefs	64
XXII. On gaming - -	66
XXIII. On particular Customs -	67
XXIV. On unnatural Customs - -	69
XXV. On the Resemblance of the Orang Outang to Man - - -	76
XXVI. Of the influence of Climate on the human Constitution - -	86
XXVII. On the Female Sex - -	93
XXVIII. On the Origin of Love -	96
XXIX. False Opinions concerning Love	98
XXX. Of Love in an Infant Society	99
XXXI. Of Love in a Society where Manners begin to be softened - -	100
XXXII. Of	

Chap.	Page
XXXII. Of Love, in a Society aggrandized by Riches - - -	101
XXXIII. Of Love in a Republic -	102
XXXIV. Love of the Orientals -	103
XXXV. Of Love in Monarchies	105
XXXVI. Of Love among the Northern Na- tions - - -	107
XXXVII. On the Necessity and Happiness of Matrimony - -	109
XXXVIII. On Polygamy - -	112
XXXIX. On the Education of Asiatic Wo- men - - -	124
XL. On Marriage Ceremonies - -	126
XLI. On Female Succession -	129
XLII. Curious Instances of false Reasoning	132
XLIII. On the Anticipation of futurity	143
XLIV. On our Propensity to the Belief of the Marvellous - - -	144
XLV. On the Tendency of the human Mind to Mysteries and hidden Meanings	149
XLVI. On the Tendency of moral Character to diversify the human Form	153
XLVII. On Luxury - - -	166
XLVIII. Re-	

Chap.	Page
XLVIII. On Refinements in Cookery	166
XLIX. On Houses and Furniture	168
L. On the different Ideas of Luxury	171
LI. On Luxury in Eating and Drinking, particularly of the English	176
LII. On the Luxury of some London-Ladies	178
LIII. On Coaches	180
LIV. On the pernicious Effects of Luxury	182
LV. Luxury viewed in a political Light	185
LVI. On the Aversion of neighbouring Tribes to each other	186
LVII. On mental Attraction and Repulsion	191
LVIII. On our Taste for Variety	193
LIX. On intellectual Exercise	195
LX. On Government	198
LXI. On different Forms of Government.	201
LXII. On Despotism	204
LXIII. On the Depression of Mind in Subjects of Despotism	206
LXIV. On the Influence of Despotism on the finest Countries	207
LXV. On that Form of Government, which is most favourable to Patriotism	211

Chap.	Page
LXVI. On the Influence of Opulence in different Forms of Government	214
LXVII. On the peculiar Advantages of small States	216
LXVIII. On the splendid Works of great States	217
LXIX. On the Artifices of Ministers in a despotic Government	220
LXX. On the internal Convulsions and Revolutions of an extensive Monarchy	222
LXXI. On the Difficulty of guarding the Frontiers of a great Empire	223
LXXII. On the hereditary Genius of Nations	226
LXXIII. On Peace and War	243
LXXIV. The generous Officer	244
LXXV. An affecting Incident	346
LXXVI. A Comparison between War and Peace	250
LXXVII. On the Vigour of Mind, which the English Constitution inspires	254
LXXVIII. On Patriotism	255
LXXIX. On Patriotism, as being favourable to Virtue	257
LXXX. On Patriotism, as the Bulwark of liberty	258
LXXXI. On	

Chap.	Page
LXXXI. On Emulation, as affecting Patriotism	260
LXXXII. On the Effect of Faction on Patriotism	261
LXXXIII. On the Effect of Riches on Patriotism	262
LXXXIV. An illustrious Example of Patriotism in a negro Prince	269
LXXXV. On the Disadvantages of a great City	271
LXXXVI. On Agriculture	279
LXXXVII. Of Agriculture among the Ancients	281
LXXXVIII. Of Agriculture among the Moderns	284
LXXXIX. Miscellaneous Remarks on Agriculture	287
XC. On Taxes	291
XCI. On the Foundation of Taxes	294
XCII. On different Sorts of Taxes	296
XCIII. Rules for Taxing	303
XCIV. On exceptionable Taxes	310
XCV. On Taxes favourable to Commerce	333

XCVI. On

Chap.	Page
XCVI. On Man as the Arbiter of his own Fortune	321
XCVII. On the Origin and Progress of Religion	333
XCVIII. The Opinions of several Tribes of Mankind concerning the Deity	337
XCIX. Of superstitious Opinions	341
C. On the Christian Religion	350
CI. On religious Worship, Forms and Ceremonies	353
CII. On human Nature	357

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CURIOUS THOUGHTS

ON THE

HISTORY OF MAN.

CHAP. I.

ON THE SOCIAL NATURE OF MAN.

BY the original order and constitution of nature, men are so framed, that they stand in need of each other's help, in order to make them comfortable and happy in the world. A mutual intercourse gradually opens their latent powers ; and the extension of this intercourse is generally productive of new sources of pleasure and delight. Withdraw this intercourse, and what is man ! " Let all the " powers and elements of nature," says an illustrious philosopher, " conspire to serve and obey one " man ;—let the sun rise and set at his command ;—the sea and the rivers roll as he pleases, " and the earth furnish spontaneously whatever may " be useful or agreeable to him ;—he will still be " miserable, till you give him some one person at
B " least,

“least, with whom he may share his happiness,
 “and, whose esteem and friendship he may enjoy.”

Society then is the theatre on which our genius expands with freedom. It is essential to the origin of all our ideas of natural and of moral beauty. It is the prime mover of all our inventive powers. Every effort, beyond what is merely animal, has a reference to a community; and the solitary savage, who traverses the desert, is scarce raised so far by nature above other animals, as he is sunk by fortune beneath the standard of his own race.

The destitute condition of man as an animal, has been an usual topic of declamation among the learned; and this alone, according to some theories, is the foundation both of social union and civil combinations.

After the population of the World, and the growth of arts, mutual alliances and mutual support became indeed essential in our divided system; and it is no wonder, if certain appearances in the civil æra have been transferred, in imagination, to all preceding times. At first, however, it may be questioned, whether there reigned not such an independence in our œconomy, as is observable in other parts of the creation.

The arts of life, by enervating our corporeal powers, and multiplying the objects of desire, have annihilated personal independence, and formed an immense chain of connections among collective bodies.

Nor

Nor is it perhaps so much the call of necessity, or mutual wants, as a certain delight in their kind, congenial with all natures, which constitutes the fundamental principle of association and harmony throughout the whole circle of being. But man, it is pretended, by *nature* timid, runs to *society* for relief, and finds an asylum there. Nor is he singular in this. All animals, in the hour of danger, crowd together, and derive confidence and security from mutual aid.

Danger, however, it may be answered, far from suggesting a confederacy, tends in most cases to dissolve rather than to confirm the union. Secure from danger, animals herd together, and seem to discover a complacency towards their kind. Let but a single animal of more rapacious form present himself to view, they instantly disperse. They derive no security from mutual aid, and rarely attempt to supply their weakness in detail, by their collective strength. This single animal is a match for thousands of a milder race. The law of dominion, in the scale of life, is the strength of the individual merely, not the number of the tribe; and of all animals, man almost alone becomes considerable, by the combination of his species.

In society, animals are rather more prone to timidity from the prevalence of the softer instincts. Those of the ravenous class, generally the most solitary, are accordingly the most courageous; and man

himself declines in courage, in proportion to the extent of his alliances ;—not indeed in that species of it, which is the genuine offspring of magnanimity and heroic sentiment ; but in that constitutional boldness and temerity, which resides in our animal nature. Hence intrepidity is a predominant feature in the savage character. Hence the savage himself, separately bold and undaunted, when he acts in concert with his fellows, is found liable to panic from this public sympathy. And it is hence, perhaps, according to the observation of a distinguished writer,* that the most signal victories, recorded in the annals of nations, have been uniformly obtained by the army of inferior number.

In some parts of our constitution, we resemble the other animals. There is, however, some inward consciousness, some decisive mark of superiority, in every condition of men. But the line, which measures that superiority, is of very variable extent. Let us allow but equal advantages from culture to the mind and body, and it is reasonable to infer, that savages, in some of the wilder forms, must be as inferior to civilized man in intellectual abilities, and in the peculiar graces of the mind, as they surpass him in the activity of their limbs, in the command of their bodies, and in the exertion of all the meaner functions : Some striking instances of savage tribes, with so limited an understanding,

* Sir William Temple.

as is scarce capable of forming any arrangement for futurity, are produced by an Historian, who traces the progress of human reason through various stages of improvement, and unites truth with eloquence in his descriptions of mankind.*

The progress of nations and of men, though not exactly parallel, is found in several respects to correspond; and, in the interval from infancy to manhood, we may remark this gradual opening of the human faculties. First of all, those of sense appear, grow up spontaneously, or require but little culture. Next in order, the propensities of the heart, display their force; and a fellow-feeling with others unfolds itself gradually on the appearance of proper objects. Last in the train, the powers of intellect begin to blossom, are reared up by culture, and demand an intercourse of minds.

* History of America, v. 1. p. 309.

C H A P. II.

OF THE CHIEF CAUSES WHICH GAVE RISE TO
CIVIL SOCIETY.

AS man was formed a social creature, so the necessities of human life made society absolutely necessary to him. These necessities were either the want of sustenance, or of defence against superior force and violence. As to the want of sustenance it appears evident, that, in certain countries and climates, the natural produce of the earth is sufficient for man, as well as other animals, without either society or arts. But, in the first place, he may multiply so much, that the spontaneous growth of the earth, without art or culture, cannot support him; or he may go to countries and climates, which by nature are not fitted to support him. In either of these cases, he must have recourse to society and arts. It is, by means of these that man has multiplied more than any other animal of equal size, and has become an inhabitant of every country and climate; whereas, every other animal has only certain countries or climates where it can subsist.

The other motive which I mentioned, as inducing men to enter into society, was self defence; the necessity of which will appear the greater, if we consider,

consider, that man is by nature weaker, and not so well armed, as many of the beasts of prey. The Author of nature, indeed, endued man with superior sagacity. That however would not have availed him in the single state ; but it directed him to associate himself with others of the same species, —to act in concert with them,—in short, to institute civil society, to invent arts and sciences, and to acquire dominion over animals much stronger and fiercer than himself. The face of the earth he has changed by his art and industry, and even the elements and powers of nature he has made subservient to his purposes.

“ Audax omnia perpeti

“ Gens humana.—

“ Expertus vacuum Dædalus æra

“ Pennis non homini datis.*

“ Perrupit Acheronta Hercules labor.

“ Nil mortalibus arduum.

HOR.

* This story of Dædalus is no doubt a poetical fiction, though, like other poetical fictions, it has a foundation in historical truth ; for the fact appears to have been, that Dædalus made his escape from Crete in a swift-sailing vessel of his own invention. But it is not a fiction, that Bishop Wilkins, a most ingenious as well as learned man, did try to invent an *art of flying*, and was so confident of his success, that he said he did not doubt but that he should hear men calling for their *wings*, as they do now for their *boats*.

In fruitful countries, and benign climates, men may live in the natural state ; but in rude climates, and barren countries, they cannot subsist at all without society and arts. In such a country as Canada, for example, which is covered for several months of the year with deep snow, how is it possible the Indians could live without the arts of fishing and hunting, by the first of which they support themselves in the summer, and by the last in the winter ? As it is, they very often perish by hunger ; but, without those arts, or agriculture, and the art of preserving, as well as raising, the fruits of the earth, it is evident they could not live a single year. For, supposing that men could subsist upon herbs or foliage, as horses and cattle can do, without feeds or fruits, which, in reality, they cannot ;—or supposing that they could be nourished by the roots of certain vegetables, which, perhaps, may be the case ;—and supposing further, that they could dig for them with their fingers ;—yet where are the leaves or herbage to be found, in such countries, for one half of the year ? And how could single men, without instruments of art, dig for roots in ground hardened like iron by frost, and covered with five or six feet of snow ?

From these considerations we may infer, that men never could have lived in the natural state in such countries ; that is without society and arts ;—and consequently, that in those countries, the human
race

race never could have a beginning, and that therefore they must have been peopled from milder climates, by tribes and colonies of men already civilized, and who brought with them arts, by which they were enabled to subsist in those rougher climates.

This explains a fact in the history of man, in which both sacred and profane history agree, "That the progress of the human race has always been, so far as we can trace it, from the east, and particularly from the southern parts of Asia, where, according to our sacred books, the human race first began." For those parts of Asia are much more delightful than Europe, and have always produced finer bodies of men, and other animals, as well as better vegetables.* This of itself makes it highly probable, even if it were not attested by history, that men having first associated in those milder and more fruitful regions of Asia, did from thence spread themselves into Europe, and other parts of the world, where the climate was not so propitious to the human race, and there subsisted by arts which they had imported.

It cannot be doubted that man, in a warm and fertile climate, may easily subsist upon the natural fruits of the earth. It is for this reason, that Linnæus makes such climates to be the native

B 5
country

* This is an observation of Hippocrates the physician.

country of man, where he lives naturally and of choice, whereas, in other climates, he lives only by compulsion, *non naturâ sed coactè*. If this be so, mankind must have had their origin in those countries, where the productions of a genial soil could afford them subsistence. Then becoming too numerous to live in that way, they would invent arts, such as hunting, fishing and agriculture; and when even those arts became insufficient for their subsistence, they would be obliged to move to other climates less favourable, and there subsist by the arts, which they had brought with them. And in this way the whole earth has been at last peopled, even the worst parts of it, lying

———— *Extra anni solisque vias,*

and altogether uninhabitable by every other animal of the milder climates.

C H A P. III.

ON HUNTING AND THE PASTORAL LIFE.

HUNTING, it is probable, was the first expedient that men fell upon for supplying the want of the natural fruits of the earth ; it being much easier than planting, sowing, or any kind of culture of the ground, before instruments of art were invented. For man, by his natural strength and agility, with the addition only of a stick, can get the better of a great number of quadrupeds.*

One natural consequence of hunting would be, that, in process of time, they would think of the expedient of catching certain animals alive, taming them, and breeding out of them, which would greatly add to their stock of provisions. This produced the pastoral life, which is the only means of the subsistence of whole nations at this day. But it may be observed, that, unless in countries where flocks and herds can live through the winter

* With respect to hunting it may be observed, that as it becomes less and less necessary in the progress from cold to hot countries, the appetite for it keeps pace with that progress. It is vigorous in very cold countries, where men depend on hunting for food. It is less vigorous in temperate countries, where they are partly fed with natural fruits ; and there is scarce any vestige of it in hot countries, where vegetables are the food of men, and where meat is an article of luxury.

upon the natural produce of the earth, it is impossible that men can be supported in that way, without the assistance of other arts, and particularly agriculture. And this is a good reason why the Indians of North America, not having the art of agriculture, have never attempted the pastoral life; or to tame any animals, except dogs that live upon flesh.

In Lapland the shepherd-state must always prevail, for it is quite unfit for corn. It produces no vegetable but moss, which is the food of no animal but the rein-deer. This circumstance solely is what renders Lapland habitable by men. Without rein-deer, the sea-coasts within the reach of fish would admit some inhabitants; but the inland parts, would be a desert. As the swiftness of that animal makes it not an easy prey, the taming of it for food must have been early attempted; and its natural docility made the attempt succeed. It yields to no other animal in usefulness. It is equal to a horse for draught. Its flesh is excellent food; and the female gives milk more nourishing than that of a cow. Its fur is fine; and the leather made of its skin is both soft and durable.

Though a great part of Tartary lies in the temperate zone, it produces very little corn. The Tartars, indeed, have had flocks and herds, for many ages; and yet, in a great measure, they not only continue hunters, but retain the ferocity of
that

that state. They are not fond of being shepherds, and have no knowledge of husbandry. This, in appearance, is singular ; but nothing happens without a cause. Tartary is one continued mountain from west to east, rising high above the countries to the south, and declining gradually to the northern ocean. A few spots excepted, a tree above the size of a shrub cannot live in it. Thus the Tartars, like the Laplanders, are chained to the shepherd-state, and never advance to be husbandmen. If they ever become so populous, as to require more food than the pastoral life can supply, migration will be their only resource.

Neither the hunter nor shepherd-state, perhaps, ever existed in the torrid zone. The inhabitants, it is probable, as at present, always subsisted on vegetable food. In Manila, one of the Philippine islands, the trees bud, blossom, and bear fruit, all the year. The natives, driven by Spanish invaders from the sea-coast to the inland parts, have no particular place of abode, but live under the shelter of trees, which afford them food as well as habitation ; and when the fruit is consumed in one spot, they remove to another. The orange, lemon, and other European trees, bear fruit twice a year ; and a sprig planted bears fruit within the year.

This picture of Manila answers to numberless places in the torrid zone. The Marian or Ladrone islands are extremely populous, and yet the inhabitants

inhabitants live entirely on fish, fruits and roots. The inhabitants of the new Philippine islands live on cocoa-nuts, fallads, roots, and fish. The inland negroes make but one meal a-day, which is in the evening. Their diet is plain, consisting mostly of rice, fruits, and roots. The island of Otaheite is healthy, the people tall and well made; and, as vegetables and fish are their chief nourishment, they live to a good old age, almost without any disease. There is no such thing known among them as rotten teeth. The very smell of wine or spirits is disagreeable; and they never use tobacco or spices. In many places Indian corn is the chief nourishment, which every man plants for himself.

The inhabitants of Bildulgerid and the desert of Zaara have but two meals a-day, one in the morning, and one in the evening. Being temperate, and strangers to diseases arising from luxury, they generally live to a great age. Sixty with them is the prime of life, as thirty is in Europe. An inhabitant of Madagascar will travel two or three days without any food but a sugar-cane. There is indeed little appetite for animal food in hot climates; though beef and fowl have in small quantities been introduced to the tables of the great, as articles of luxury.

C H A P IV.

O N P O P U L A T I O N .

THE chief cause of population is plenty of food. The southern provinces of China produce two crops of rice in a year, sometimes three ; and an acre well cultivated gives food to ten persons. Hence the extreme populousness of China and other rice countries. In Negroland, two hundred children are often born to one man by his different wives. Food, therefore must be in great plenty to enable a man to maintain so many children. What wonderful skill and labour would it require to make Europe so populous? A country, where the inhabitants live chiefly by hunting, must be very thin of inhabitants, as 10,000 acres are scarce-sufficient for the supporting a single family. If the multiplication of animals depended chiefly on fecundity, wolves would be more numerous than sheep. Yet we see every where large flocks of sheep, and but few wolves. The reason is obvious. The former have plenty of food, the latter very little. A wolf resembles a savage who lives by hunting, and consumes the game of five or six thousand acres.

Agriculture and manufactures are favourable to population ; and perhaps no manufacture contributes

butes more to it than that of silk. It employs as many hands as wool ; and it withdraws no land from tillage or pasture.

Olivares hoped to repeople Spain by encouraging matrimony. Abderam, king of Cordova, was a better politician. By encouraging industry, and procuring plenty of food, he repeople his kingdom in less than thirty years.

There is not a greater enemy to population than luxury. Cookery depopulates like a pestilence ; because, when it becomes an art, it brings within the compass of one stomach, what is sufficient for ten in days of temperance ; and is so far worse than a pestilence, that the people never recruit again. People of rank, where luxury prevails, are not prolific. A barren woman among the labouring poor is a wonder. Could women of fortune be persuaded to make a trial, they would find more self-enjoyment in temperance and exercise, than in the most refined luxury ; nor would they have cause to envy others the blessing of a numerous and healthy offspring.

Despotism is a greater enemy to the human species than the Egyptian plague. It strikes at the very root of population. By rendering men miserable, it prevents their increase. Free states, on the contrary, are always populous. People, who are happy, wish for children to make them also happy. The inhabitants of ancient Greece, and
of

of the Lesser Asia, were free and numerous. The present inhabitants are reduced by slavery to a small number.

C H A P. V.

ON PROPERTY.

MAN is by nature a hoarding animal, having an appetite for storing up things of use ; and the sense of property is bestowed on men, for securing to them what they thus store up. This sense discovers itself at a very early period. We see that children possess it ; for they are capable of distinguishing their own chair, and their own spoon.

In the earliest ages, perhaps, every man separately hunted for himself and his family. But as chance prevails in that occupation, it was found more convenient to carry it on in common. We find, accordingly, the practice of hunting and fishing in common, even among gross savages.

In small tribes, where patriotism is vigorous, or in a country thinly peopled in proportion to its fertility, the living in common is agreeable. But in a large state, where selfishness prevails, or in any state, where great population requires extraordinary culture, the best method is to permit every man to shift for himself and his family. Men wish to labour for themselves ; and they labour more ardently for themselves, than for the public.

The

The sense of property is not confined to the human species. The beavers perceive the timber they store up for food, to be their property ; and the bees seem to have the same perception with respect to their winter's provision of honey. Sheep know when they are in a trespass, and run to their own pasture on the first glimpse of a man ; monkeys do the same, when detected in robbing an orchard. Sheep and horned cattle have a sense of property, with respect to their resting-place in a fold or inclosure, which every one guards against the encroachments of others. He must be a sceptic indeed, who denies that perception to rooks. Thieves there are among them, as among men. But, if a rook purloin a stick from another's nest, a council is held, much chattering ensues, and the *lex talionis* is applied by demolishing the nest of the criminal. To man are furnished rude materials only. To convert these into food and clothing requires industry ; and if he had not a sense that the product of his labour belongs to himself, his industry would be faint. In general, it is pleasant to observe, that the sense of property is always given where it is useful, and never but where it is useful.

An ingenious writer, describing the inhabitants of Guiana, who continue hunters and fishers, makes an eloquent harangue upon the happiness they enjoy, in having few wants and desires, and little notion of private property, " Tho manners

of these Indians exhibit an amiable picture of primæval innocence and happiness. The ease, with which their few wants, are supplied, renders division of land unnecessary ; nor does it afford any temptation to fraud or violence. That proneness to vice, which, among civilized nations, is esteemed a propensity of nature, has no existence in a country, where every man enjoys in perfection his native freedom and independence, without hurting or being hurt by others. A perfect equality of rank, banishing all distinctions but of age and personal merit, promotes freedom in conversation, and firmness in action, and suggests no desires but what may be gratified with innocence. Envy and discontent cannot subsist where there is perfect equality. We scarce even hear of a discontented lover, as there is no difference of rank and fortune, the common obstacles that prevent fruition. Those who have been unhappily accustomed to the refinements of luxury, will scarce be able to conceive, that an Indian, with no covering but what modesty requires, with no shelter that deserves the name of a house, and with no food but of the coarsest kind, painfully procured by hunting, can feel any happiness. And yet to judge from external appearance, the happiness of these people may be envied by the wealthy of the most refined nations ; and justly, because their ignorance of extravagant desires, and endless pursuits, that torment the great world, ex-
cludes

cludes every wish beyond the present. In a word, the inhabitants of Guiana are an example of what Socrates justly observes, that they who want the least, approach the nearest to the gods, who want nothing." It is admitted, that the innocence of savages, here painted in fine colours, is in every respect more amiable than the luxury of the opulent. But is there not a middle state more suitable than either extreme to the dignity of human nature. The appetite for property is not bestowed upon us in vain. It has given birth to many arts. It furnishes opportunity for gratifying the most dignified natural affections; for, without private property, what place would there be for benevolence or charity? Without private property there would be no industry; and without industry, men could never be civilized.

The appetite for property, however, in its nature a great blessing, degenerates into a great curse, when it transgresses the bounds of moderation. Before money was introduced, the appetite seldom was immoderate, because plain necessities were its only objects. But money is a species of property, of such extensive use as greatly to inflame the appetite. Money prompts men to be industrious; and the beautiful productions of industry and art, rousing the imagination, excite a violent desire for grand houses, fine gardens, and for every thing gay and splendid. Habitual wants multiply.

Luxury

Luxury and sensuality gain ground. The appetite for property becomes headstrong, and is often gratified at the expence of justice and honour.

CHAP. VI.

ON COMMERCE.

IN the first stage of society, the few wants of men are supplied by barter, which proves miserably deficient, when men and their wants multiply. That sort of commerce cannot be carried on at a distance; and, even among neighbours, it does not always happen, that the one can spare what the other has occasion for. The numberless wants of men cannot readily be supplied, without some commodity in general estimation, which will be gladly accepted in exchange for every other.

Gold and silver, when first used in commerce, were probably bartered, like other commodities, merely by bulk. Rock-salt in Ethiopia, white as snow, and hard as stone, is to this day bartered, in that manner, with other goods. It is dug out of the mountain Lafta, formed into plates a foot long, and three inches broad and thick; a portion is broken off equivalent in value to the thing wanted.

But more accuracy was soon observed in the commerce of gold and silver. Instead of giving it loosely by bulk, every portion was weighed in scales; which method of barter is practised in China, in
Ethiopia

Ethiopia, and in many other countries. Even weight was at length discovered to be an imperfect standard. Ethiopian salt may be proof against adulteration: but weight is no security against mixing gold and silver with base metals. To prevent that fraud, pieces of gold and silver are impressed with a public mark, vouching both the purity and the quantity; and such pieces are termed *coin*.

Though we cannot easily trace the steps, by which commerce was introduced among the ancient nations, we may, from detached passages in sacred writ, ascertain the progress which had been made in it during the patriarchal times. We know, from the history of civil society, that the commercial interest between men must be pretty considerable, before the metals came to be considered as the medium of trade; and yet this was the case even in the days of Abraham. It appears, however, from the relations which establish this fact, that the use of money had not been of ancient date. It had no mark to ascertain its weight or fineness; and in a contract for a burying-place, in exchange for which Abraham gave silver, the metal is "weighed in presence of all the people." But as commerce improved, and bargains of this sort became more common, this practice was laid aside; and the quantity of silver was ascertained by a particular mark, which saved the trouble of weighing it. But this does not appear to have taken place, till the time of Jacob,

Jacob, the second from Abraham. The *resilah*, of which we read in his time, was a piece of money stamped with the figure of a lamb, and of a precise and stated value. It appears from the history of Joseph, that the commerce, between different nations, was by this time regularly carried on. The Ishmaelites and Midianites, who bought him of his brethren, were travelling merchants, resembling the modern caravans, who carried spices, perfumes, and other rich commodities, from their own country into Egypt. The same observations may be made from the book of Job, who, according to the best writers, was a native of Arabia Felix, and also contemporary with Jacob. He speaks of the roads of Thema and Saba, that is, of the caravans which set out from those cities of Arabia. If we reflect, that the commodities of this country were rather the luxuries than the conveniencies of life, we shall have reason to conclude, that the countries into which they were sent for sale, and particularly Egypt, were considerably improved in arts and refinement; for people do not think of luxuries, until the useful arts have made high advancement among them.

The value of gold and silver in commerce, like that of other commodities, was at first, we may believe, both arbitrary and fluctuating. With respect to value, however, there is a great difference between money and other commodities. Goods

that are expensive in keeping, such as cattle, or that are impaired by time, such as corn, will always be first offered in exchange for what is wanted; and when such goods are offered to sale, the vender must be contented with the current price. In making the bargain, the purchaser has the advantage; for he suffers not by reserving his money to a better market. And thus commodities are brought down by money, to the lowest value that can afford any profit. At the same time, gold and silver sooner find their value than other commodities. The value of the latter depends both on the quantity and on the demand. The value of the former depends on the quantity only, the demand being unbounded. And even, with respect to quantity, these precious metals are less variable than other commodities.

Gold and silver, being thus sooner fixed in their value than other commodities, become a standard for valuing every other commodity, and consequently for comparative values. A bushel of wheat, for example, being valued at five shillings, and a yard of broad cloth at fifteen, their comparative values are as one to three.

A standard of values is essential to commerce; and therefore, where gold and silver are unknown, other standards are established in practice. The only standard among the savages of North America is the skin of a beaver. Ten of these are given for

a gun

a gun, two for a pound of gun-powder, one for four pounds of lead, one for six knives, one for a hatchet, six for a coat of woollen cloth, five for a petticoat, and one for a pound of tobacco. Some nations in Africa employ shells, termed *couries*, for a standard.

Industry and commerce are much affected by the quantity of circulating coin. While the quantity of money in circulation, and the quantity of goods in the market continue the same, the price will rise and fall with the demand. For when more goods are demanded than the market affords, those who offer the highest price will be preferred. But, when the goods brought to market exceed the demand, the venders have no resource but to entice purchasers by a low price. The price of fish, flesh, butter, and cheese, is much higher than formerly; for these being now the daily food even of the lowest people, the demand for them is greatly increased.

When a fluctuation only takes place in the quantity of goods, the price falls as the quantity increases, and rises as the quantity decreases. The farmer, whose quantity of corn is doubled by a favourable season, must sell at half the usual price; because the purchaser, who sees a superfluity, will pay no more for it. The contrary happens, when the crop is scanty. Those, who want corn, must starve, or give the market price, however high.

The manufactures of wool, flax, and metals, are much cheaper than formerly; for though the demand has increased, yet by skill and industry the quantities produced have increased in a greater proportion. More vegetables are consumed than formerly; and yet, by skilful culture, the quantity is so much greater in proportion, as to have lowered the price to less than one half of what it was about eighty years ago.

In Europe, and in every country where there is work for all the people, an addition to the circulating coin, raises the price of labour and of manufactures. But such addition has no sensible effect in a country where there is a superfluity of hands, who are always disposed to work, when they find employment.

Manufactures can never flourish in a country, abounding with mines of gold and silver, if there be not a superfluity of hands. This in effect is the case of Spain. A constant influx of these metals, raising the price of labour and manufactures, has deprived the Spaniards of foreign markets, and also of their own. They are reduced to purchase from strangers even the necessaries of life. What a dismal condition will they be reduced to, when their mines are exhausted! The gold coast in Guinea has its name from the plenty of gold that is found there. As it is washed from the hills with the soil, in small quantities, every one is on the watch

watch for it ; and the people, like gamesters despise every other occupation. Indolence and poverty, therefore, are the consequence. The kingdom of Fida, which is contiguous, produces no gold, but is populous. Industry prevails, manufactures flourish, and the people are all in easy circumstances.

With regard to Spain, the rough materials of silk, wool, and iron, are produced there in greater perfection, than any where else ; and yet flourishing manufactures of these, would be so far from being beneficial to it in its present state, that they would ruin it. Let us only suppose, that Spain itself could furnish all the commodities that are demanded in its American territories, what would be the consequence ? The gold and silver produced by that trade would circulate in Spain. Money would become a drug. Labour and manufactures would rise to a high price ; and every necessary of life, not excepting manufactures of silk, wool, and iron, would be smuggled into Spain, the high price there being sufficient to overbalance every risk. Spain would be left without industry, and without people. Spain was actually in the flourishing state here supposed, when America was discovered. The American gold and silver mines inflamed the disease, and consequently was the greatest misfortune that ever befel that once potent kingdom.

The exportation of our silver coin to the East Indies, so loudly exclaimed against by shallow
 C 2 politicians,

politicians, is to us, on the contrary, a most substantial blessing. It keeps up the value of silver, and consequently lessens the value of labour and of goods, which enable us to maintain our place in foreign markets. Were there no drain for our silver, its quantity, in our continent, would sink in value so much, as to render the American mines unprofitable. Notwithstanding the great flow of money to the East Indies, many mines in the West Indies are given up, because they afford not the expence of working ; and were the value of silver in Europe brought much lower, all the silver mines in the West Indies would be abandoned. Thus our East-India commerce, which is thought ruinous by many, because it is a drain to much of our silver, is for that very reason profitable. The Spaniards profit by importing it into Europe ; and other nations profit, by receiving it for their manufactures.

C H A P. VII.

O N M A N N E R S.

MANNERS signify a mode of behaviour peculiar to a certain person, or to a certain nation. An action, considered as right or wrong, belongs to morals; but when it is considered as belonging to a person or to a people, it belongs to manners. Some persons have a peculiar air, a peculiar manner of speaking or of acting, which, in opposition to the manners of the generality, are termed *their manners*.

Those peculiarities in a whole nation, which distinguish it from other nations, or from itself at different periods, are termed *the manners of that nation*.

The first thing that attracts attention is external appearance. The human countenance and gestures have a greater variety of expressions, than those of any other animal. Some persons differ so widely from the generality, in these expressions, as to be known by their manner of walking, or even by so slight an action as that of putting on or taking off a hat. Some men are known even by the sound of their feet in walking. Whole nations are distinguished by such peculiarities. And yet there is less variety in looks and gestures, than the different tones of mind would produce, were men left to the impulse

of pure nature. External behaviour is nearly uniform among those who study to be agreeable ; witness people of fashion in France.

Under external appearance dress is also comprehended. Providence hath clothed all animals that are unable to clothe themselves. Man can clothe himself ; and he is endowed besides with an appetite for food. That appetite is proportioned, in degree, to its use. In cold climates it is vigorous ; in hot climates, faint. Savages must go naked till they learn to cover themselves ; and they soon learn where covering is necessary. The Patagonians, however, who go naked in an exceeding cold climate, must be very stupid. And the Picts, a Scotch tribe, who, it is said, continued naked down to the time of Severus, did not probably much surpass the Patagonians in the talent of invention.

Savages probably at first thought of clothing as a protection only against the weather ; but they soon discovered a beauty in dress. Men led the way, and woman followed. Such savages, as go naked, paint their bodies, excited by the same fondness for ornament that our women shew in their party-coloured garments. Among the Jews, the men wore ear-rings as well as the women. When Media was governed by its own kings, the men were sumptuous in dress. They wore loose robes, floating in the air. They had long hair covered
with

with a rich bonnet, bracelets, chains of gold, and precious stones. They painted their faces, and mixed artificial hair with that of nature.

As authors are silent about the women, they probably made no figure in that kingdom, being shut up, as at present, in *seraglios*.

In the days of Socrates, married women in Greece were entirely devoted to household drudgery. Xenophon introduces an Athenian of great riches and reputation, discoursing to Socrates of his family affairs, "that he told his wife, that his principal object in marrying her was to have a person, in whose discretion he could confide, who would take proper care of his servants, and lay out his money with œconomy;—that one day he observed her face painted, and that she had high heeled shoes;—that he chid her severely for such follies, and asked her how she could imagine to pass such silly tricks on a husband? If she wanted to have a better complexion, why not weave at her loom standing upright, why not employ herself in baking and other family exercises, which would give her such a bloom as no paint could imitate?"

But when the Athenian manners became to be more polished, greater indulgence was given to the ladies in dress and ornament. They consumed the whole morning at the toilette, employing paint, and every drug for cleaning and whitening the skin. They laid red even upon their lips, and took great

care of their teeth. Their hair, made up in buckles with a hot iron, was perfumed and spread upon the shoulders. Their dress was elegant and artfully contrived to set off a fine shape.

Josephus informs us, that the Jewish ladies powdered their hair with gold dust; a fashion that was carried from Asia to Rome. The first writer, who mentions the hair-powder now in use, is L'Etoile in his journal for the year 1593. He relates that nuns walked the streets of Paris curled and powdered. That fashion spread by degrees through Europe.

CHAP VIII.

ON THE TASTE FOR CLEANLINESS.

CLEANNESS is remarkable in several nations, which have made little progress in the arts of life. It appears, therefore, to be inherent in the nature of man, and not entirely a refinement of polished nations. The savages of the Caribbee islands, once a numerous tribe, were remarked by writers as neat and cleanly. In the island Otaheite both sexes are cleanly. They bathe frequently, and wash both before and after their meals. They wash morning and evening, and perfume themselves with aromatic herbs. In the city of Benin, women are employed to keep the streets
clean;

clean ; and in that respect they are not outdone by the Dutch. In Corea, people mourn three years for the death of their parents ; during which time they never wash. Dirtiness must appear dismal to that people, as well as to us.

There are, indeed, several instances to the contrary. A Traveller, who visited the Tartars in 1246, says, " That they never wash face nor hands ; that they never clean a dish, a pot, nor a garment ; and that, like swine, they make food of every thing." The present inhabitants of Kamtschatka answer to that description in every article. The nastiness of North-American savages, in their food, in their cabins, and in their garments, passes all conception. The Esquimaux, and many other tribes are equally nasty. This dirtiness, however, proceeds from indolence counteracting nature ; for cleanness is agreeable to all, and nastiness disagreeable. No person prefers dirt ; and even those, who are the most accustomed to it, are pleased with a cleanly appearance in others. Nor is a taste for cleanness bestowed on man in vain. Its final cause is conspicuous ; for it is extremely wholesome, and nastiness no less unwholesome.

Captain Cook, during a voyage round the world, lost but a single man by disease, who at the same time was sickly when he entered the ship. One main article that preserved the health of the crew was cleanness. The Captain regularly, one morn-

ing every week, reviewed his ship's company, to see that every one of them had clean linen; and he bestowed the same care, with respect to their clothes and bedding.

In Constantinople pestilential fevers, and other putrid diseases, very much prevail; not from unhealthiness in the climate, but from the narrowness and nastiness of the streets.

C H A P. IX.

REMARKS ON SEVERAL NATIONS, RESPECTING CLEANLINESS.

THE Japanese are so finically clean, as to find fault even with the Dutch for dirtiness. Their inns are not an exception; nor their little houses, in which water is always at hand for washing after the operation.

Many centuries ago, it is recorded of the English, that they had an aversion to the Danes on account of their cleanness. They combed their hair, and put on a clean shirt once a-week. It was reputed an extraordinary effort in Thomas a Becket, that he had his parlour strewed every day with clean straw. The celebrated Erasmus, who visited England in the reign of Henry VIII. complains of the nastiness and slovenly habits of its people; ascribing to that cause the frequent plagues which infested

infested them. " Their floors," says he, " are commonly of clay strewed with rushes, under which lies unmolested a collection of beer, grease, fragments, bones, spittle, excrements of dogs and cats, and of every thing that is nauseous." And the strewing a floor with straw or rushes was common in Queen Elisabeth's time, not excepting even her presence-chamber.

In those days, however, industry was as great a stranger to England as cleanness. We may therefore infer, that the English are indebted, for their cleanliness, to the great progress of industry among them in later times. Does not this place industry in an amiable light?

The Spaniards, who are very indolent, are to this day as dirty, as the English were three centuries ago. Madrid, their capital, is nauseously nasty. Heaps of unmolested dirt, in every street, raise in that warm climate a pestiferous steam, which threatens to knock down every stranger. A purgation was lately set on foot by royal authority. But people habituated to dirt are not easily reclaimed. To promote industry is the only effectual remedy.

Till the year 1760 there was not a necessary in Madrid, though it be plentifully supplied with water. The ordure, during night, was thrown from the windows into the street, where it was

gathered into heaps. By a royal proclamation necessaries were ordered to be built. The inhabitants, though long accustomed to an arbitrary government, resented this proclamation as an infringement of the common rights of mankind, and struggled vigorously against it. The physicians were the most violent opposers. They remonstrated, that if the filth was not thrown into the streets, a fatal sickness would ensue; because the putrescent particles of air, which the filth attracted, would be imbibed by the human body.

Besides industry, other causes tend to promote cleanliness. The moisture of the Dutch climate has a considerable influence, in this respect; and, joined with industry, produces a surprising neatness and cleanness among people of business. Men of figure and fashion, who generally resort to the Hague, the seat of government, are not so cleanly. On the other hand, the French are less cleanly than the English, though not less industrious. But the lower classes of people, being in England more at their ease than in France, have a greater taste for living well, and in particular for keeping themselves clean.

C H A P. X.

O N L A N G U A G E.

LANGUAGE may be accounted in part *natural*, in part *artificial*. In one view it is the work of providence, in another it is the work of man. And this dispensation of things is exactly conformable to the whole analogy of the divine government. With respect to the organs of speech, the same external apparatus is common to us and to other animals. In both the workmanship is the same. In both are displayed the same mechanical laws. And in order to confer on them the similar endowments of speech, nothing more seems necessary, than the enlargement of their ideas, without any alteration of anatomical texture.

Man then is not the only creature, perhaps, whose organs are capable of forming speech. The voice of some animals is louder, and the voice of other animals is more melodious than his. Nor is the human ear alone susceptible of such impressions. Animals are often conscious of the import, and even recognize the harmony of sound.

In the great scale of life, the intelligence of some beings soars, perhaps as high above man, as the objects of *his* understanding soar above animal life.

Let us then imagine a man, in some other planet, to reside among beings of this exalted character.

Instructed

Instructed in their language, he might admire the magnificence of sounds louder or more melodious than he had heard before. But by reason of a dissimilarity and disproportion of ideas, these sounds could never conduct him to sense ; and the secrets of such beings would be as safe in his ears, as ours are in the ears of any of our domestic animals.

Between the lower classes and man, however, there subsists one important distinction. They are formed stationary ; he progressive. Had the exact measure of his ideas, as of theirs, been at first assigned, his language must have stood for ever as fixed and immutable as theirs. But time and natural intercourse presenting new ideas, and the scenes of life perpetually varying, the expression of language must vary in the same proportion ; and in order to trace out its original, we must go back to the ruder ages, and beginning with the early dawn, follow the gradual illuminations of the human mind.

Man, we may observe, is at first possessed of few ideas, and of still fewer desires. Absorbed in the present object of sense, he seldom indulges any train of reflexion on the past ; and cares not, by anxious reasoning to anticipate futurity.

All his competitions with his fellows are rather exertions of body than trials of mind. He values himself on the command of the former, and is dex-

trous in the performance of its various functions. The feelings of the heart break forth in visible form. Sensations glow in the countenance, and passions flash in the eye. The emotions of pleasure and pain, hope and fear, commiseration, sorrow, despair, indignation, contempt, joy, exultation, triumph, assume their tones; and independently of art, by an inexplicable mechanism of nature, declare the purposes of man to man.

Such accents and exclamations compose the first elements of a rising language. And in these distant times, *interjection* is a part of speech, which retains its primæval character. It is scarce articulated in any tongue, and is exempted from arbitrary rule.

After the introduction of artificial signs, the tone and cadence of the natural were long retained; but these fell afterwards into disuse; and it became then the province of art to recal the accents of nature.

The perfection of eloquence is allowed to consist in superadding to sentiment and diction, all the emphasis of voice and gesture: And action is extolled by the most approved judges of antiquity as the capital excellence. The decisive judgement of Demosthenes is well known; and Cicero, who records that judgment, expatiates himself, in almost every page, on that comprehensive language,
which

which addresses itself to all nations, and to every understanding.

In a certain period of society, there reigns a natural elocution, which the greatest masters afterwards are proud to imitate, and which art can seldom supply. At first, the talent of the orator, as of the poet, is an inborn talent. Nor has Demosthenes, or Tully, or Roscius, or Garrick, in their most animated and admired performances, reached, perhaps, that vivacity and force which accompany the rude accents of mankind.

Speech is much influenced by temper and disposition. Let a passion be bold, rough, cheerful, tender, or humble, still it holds, that the natural sounds prompted by it, are in the same tone. And hence the reason why these sounds are the same in all languages.

Some slight resemblance of the same kind is discoverable in many artificial sounds. The language of a savage is harsh;—of polite people, smooth;—and of women, soft and musical. The tongues of savage nations abound in gutturals, or in nasals. Yet one would imagine that such words, being pronounced with difficulty, should be avoided by savages, as they are by children. But temper prevails, and suggests to savages harsh sounds conformable to their roughness. The Esquimaux have a language composed of the harshest gutturals; and the languages of the northern

thern European nations are not remarkably smoother. The Scotch peasants are a frank and plain people ; and their dialect is in the tone of their character.

Government hath a considerable influence in forming the tone of a language. Language in a democracy is commonly rough and coarse ;—in an aristocracy, manly and plain ;—in a monarchy, courteous and insinuating ;—in despotism, imperious with respect to inferiors, and humble with respect to superiors.

The tone of the French language is well suited to its nature and government. Every man is politely submissive to those above him ; and this tone forms the character of the language in general, so as even to regulate the tone of the few, who have occasion to speak with authority. The freedom of the English government forms the manners of the people. The English language is accordingly more manly and nervous than the French, and abounds more with rough sounds. The Lacedæmonians of old, a proud and austere people, affected to talk with brevity, in the tone of command more than of advice ; and hence the Laconic style, dry but masculine. The Attic style is more difficult to be accounted for. It is sweet and copious, and had a remarkable delicacy above the style of any other nation. And yet the democracy of Athens produced rough manners ; witness the comedies

comedies of Aristophanes, and the orations of Eschines and Demosthenes.

We are not so intimately acquainted with the Athenians, as to account for the difference between their language and their manners. We are equally at a loss about the Russian tongue, which, notwithstanding the barbarity of the people, is smooth and sonorous; and, though the Malaysians are the fiercest people in the universe, their language is the softest of all that are spoken in Asia. All that can be said is, that the operation of a general cause may be disturbed by particular circumstances.

CHAP XI.

OF THE CRITERION OF A POLISHED TONGUE.

THE connexion of language and manners is an obvious connexion. They run parallel with each other, through different periods of their progress. Yet language from various causes may arrive at a pitch of refinement, unauthorised by the tone of public manners. And, on the other hand, public manners may acquire a superior cast of refinement, which the language alone would not authorise us to expect.

Words fluctuate with the modes of life. They are varied, or exterminated as harsh and dissonant,
upon

upon the same principle, that any mode or fashion is varied or exterminated as rude and vulgar. And the prevalence of this principle ultimately tends to the establishment of a general distinction. Hence the smoothness of the Ionic dialect, rather than the roughness of the Doric, recommends itself to a polished age.

Peter the Great considered the *German* as a smooth and harmonious tongue, and ordered it as such to be used at Court. In proportion as the Court of Petersburg became more polished, the German was discarded, and the French substituted in its room.

In general, the superior refinement of the French established its currency, in all the politer circles of the North of Europe. And upon the same principle the Greek, which had no charms for the Romans, in the ruder ages of the republic, ravished the ears of imperial Rome.

After the Emperor Charles V. had pleasantly characterised the several languages of Europe, the general effect of sound alone exhausted the criticism*. He insinuated no other comparison, nor

* “ *Francese ad un amico—Tedesco al suo cavallo—Italiano alla sua signora—Spagnuolo a Dio—Inglese a gli ucelli.* ”

This apothegm, like an imperial edict, has been rung, for above two centuries, in the ears of Europe. Though rather pleasant than serious, it intimates, from high authority, the general effects of sound.

enquired

enquired into their artificial fabric. The criterion, however, of a polished tongue seems principally to reside there.

It may in general be maintained, that the great excellence of a rude tongue consists, if not in *perspicuity*, at least in *vivacity* and *strength*. In these modes of excellence our most remote progenitors far surpassed us. And the advantages of a cultivated tongue, when opposed to these, will consist chiefly in copiousness of expression, in the grace of allusion, and in the combination of more melodious sound.

CHAP. XII.

ON MUSIC.

A Different style and composition in Music are found best accommodated to the genius of different nations.

The French music, accordingly, as well as the Italian is universally exploded among the Turks; and whether from the texture of their organs, or from climate, or from certain habitudes of life, possesses no powers to ravish their ears with harmony, or to interest the passions.

In general European music is disrelished, or exploded in the East. "Your music," said a native
of

of Egypt to a celebrated traveller, " is a wild and offensive noise, which a serious man can hardly endure." Nor is this an anomalous example. When Ismenias, the greatest master in music at the court of Macedon, was commanded to perform before the king of Scythia ; the king, having heard the performance, far from acquiescing in the public admiration, swore, " that to *him* the neighing of a horse was more agreeable." So little acceptable to *Scythian* ears, and to a barbarous monarch, were the most admired compositions of the Greeks.

Even among nations of equal refinement, there is to each appropriated a style in music, resulting from local circumstances, or from certain peculiarities of character ; and national music, because more intelligible, will ever be more acceptable than foreign, to the inhabitants of every country.

" The admiration, says a late popular writer,* pretended to be given to foreign music in Britain is, in general, despicable affectation. In Italy, we see the natives transported at the opera with all that variety of delight and passion, which the composer intended to produce. The same opera in England is seen, with the most remarkable listlessness and inattention. It can raise no passion in the audience, because they do not understand the language in which it is written."

The same writer, after enumerating several causes, which conferred pre-eminence on the music of the ancients, proceeds to observe, " That if we were to recover the music, which once had so much power in the early periods of the Greek states, it might have no such charms for modern ears, as some great admirers of antiquity imagine."

The extent of these charms, it may be added, even for the ears of Greeks, is magnified beyond the truth. It can hardly be imagined, that their musical education was essential to public morals, or to frame their governments ; though it might contribute, in some degree, to sway the genius of the youth, to counterbalance the tendency of their gymnastic exercises, and to heighten the sensibilities of that refined and ingenious people.

C H A P. XIII.

ON THE SIMPLICITY OF ANCIENT MANNERS.

IN early times, people lived in a very simple manner, ignorant of such habitual wants as are commonly termed luxury. Rebecca, Rachael, and the daughters of Jethro, tended their father's flocks. They were really shepherdesses. Young women of fashion drew water from the well with their own hands. The joiner, who made the bridal-bed of Ulysses, was Ulysses himself. The Princess of Naufica washed the family clothes. Queens were employed in spinning. It is from this fashion that young women, in England, are denominated *spinsters*.

Priam's car is yoked by his own sons, when he goes to redeem from Achilles the body of his son Hector. Telemachus yokes his own car. Homer's heroes kill and dress their own victuals.

The story of Ruth is a pleasing instance of simplicity in ancient times; and her laying herself down to sleep at the feet of Boaz, is a no less pleasing instance of innocence in those times. No people lived more innocently than the ancient Germans, though men and women lived together without reserve. They slept promiscuously around the walls of their houses; and yet we never read of adultery among them. The Scotch Highlanders to this day live in the same manner. Not

Not to mention gold, silver was scarce in England during the reign of the third Edward. Rents were paid in kind; and what money they had was locked up in the coffers of the great barons. Pieces of plate were bequeathed, even by kings of England, so trifling in our estimation, that a gentleman of moderate fortune would be ashamed to mention such in his will.

C H A P. XIV.

ON CRUELTY AND HUMANITY.

A Very acute philosopher* derives, from the difference of food, the mental qualities of cruelty and humanity. "Certain it is," says he, "that the people, who subsist mostly on animal food, are cruel and fierce above all others. The barbarity of the English is well known. The Guares, who live on vegetables, are the sweetest-tempered of all men."

Before venturing on a general rule, one ought to be well prepared, by an extensive induction of particulars. What will Mr. Rousseau say as to the Macassars, who never taste animal food, and yet are acknowledged to be the fiercest of mortals? And what will he say as to the Negroes of New Guinea,

* Rousseau,

remarkably

remarkably brutal and cruel? A favourite dog, companion to his master, lives commonly on the refuse of his table, and yet is remarkably gentle.

The English are noted for love of liberty. They cannot bear oppression; and they know no bounds to resentment against oppressors. *He* may call this cruelty, if he be so disposed; but others more candid will esteem it a laudable property. But to charge a nation, in general, with cruelty and ferocity, can admit of no excuse but stubborn truth. Ignorance cannot be admitted; and yet he shews gross ignorance, as no people are more noted for humanity. In no other nation do sympathetic affections more prevail. None are more ready, in cases of distress, to stretch out a relieving hand. Did not the English, in abolishing the horrid barbarity of torture, give an illustrious example of humanity to all other nations? Nay his instance, that butchers are prohibited from being put upon a jury, the only particular instance he gives of their cruelty, is, on the contrary, a proof of their humanity. For why are butchers excluded from being judges in criminal causes? For no other reason, than that being inured to the blood of animals, they may have too little regard to the lives of their fellow-subjects.

Flesh is composed of particles of different kinds. In the stomach, as in a still, it is resolved into its component particles. Will Mr. Rousseau venture to say, which of these component particles it is,
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generates a cruel disposition? Man, from the form of his teeth, and from other circumstances, is evidently fitted by his Maker, for animal as well as vegetable food; and it would be an imputation on providence, that either of them should have any bad effect on his mind, more than on his body.

C H A P XV.

OF INDELICATE MANNERS.

THE manners of the Greeks were extremely coarse; such as may be expected from a people living among their slaves, without any society with virtuous women. And is it not here natural to remark that the rough and harsh manners of our West-Indian planters, proceed from the unrestrained licence of venting ill humour upon their negro slaves?

The behaviour of Demosthenes and Æschines to each other, in their public harangues, is exceedingly coarse. But Athens was a democracy; and a democracy, above all other governments, is rough and licentious. In the Athenian comedy neither Gods nor men are spared.

What stronger instance would one require of indelicacy in the manners of the Greeks, than that they held all the world, except themselves, to be barbarians?

barbarians? In that particular, however, they are not altogether singular. The people of Congo think all the world to be the work of angels, except their own dear country, which they hold to be the handy-work of the Supreme Architect. The Greenlanders have a high conceit of themselves, and in private make a mock of the Europeans. Despising arts and sciences, they value themselves on their skill in catching seals, conceiving it to be the only useful art. They consider themselves as the only civilized and well-bred people; and when they see a modest stranger, they say, "he begins to be a man;" that is to be like one of themselves.

Sometimes, however, sparks of light are perceived breaking through the deepest gloom. When the Athenians were at war with Philip King of Macedon, they intercepted some letters addressed by him to his ministers. These they opened for intelligence. But one to his Queen Olympias they left with the messenger untouched. This was done, not by a single person, but by the authority of the whole people.

So coarse and indelicate were Roman manners, that whipping was a punishment inflicted on the officers of the army, not even excepting Centurions. Doth it not show extreme grossness of manners, to express in plain words what modesty bids us conceal? And yet this is common in Greek and Roman writers?

The manners of Europe, before the revival of letters, were no less coarse than cruel. In the days of Charlemagne, judges were forbidden to hold courts but in the morning, with an empty stomach. It would appear, that men in those days were not ashamed to be seen drunk, even in a court of justice.

How lamentable would our condition be, were we as much persecuted as our forefathers with omens, dreams, prophecies, astrologers, witches, and apparitions? Our forefathers were robust both in mind and body, and could bear, without much pain, what would totally overwhelm us.

Swearing, as an expletive of speech, is a violent symptom of rough and coarse manners. Even women in Plautus use it fluently. It prevailed in Spain and in France, till it was banished by polite manners. Our Queen Elisabeth was a bold swearer; and the English populace, who are rough beyond their neighbours, are noted by strangers for that vice. In vain have acts of parliament been made against swearing. It is easy to evade the penalty, by coining new oaths. Polished manners are the only effectual cure for that malady.

When a people begin to emerge out of barbarity, loud mirth and rough jokes come in place of rancour and resentment. About a century ago, it was usual for the servants and retainers of the Court

Court of Session in Scotland, to break out into riotous mirth and uproar the last day of every term, throwing bags, dust, sand or stones, all around. We have undoubted evidence of that disorderly practice from an act of the Court, prohibiting it under a severe penalty, as dishonourable to the Court, and unbecoming the civility requisite in such a place.

C H A P X V I .

INSTANCES OF LOW ANCIENT MANNERS.

THERE is a great difference between low, and simple manners. The latter are agreeable, not the former. Among the ancient Egyptians, to cram a man was an act of high respect. The Greeks, in their feasts, distinguished their heroes by a double portion. Ulysses cut a fat piece, out of the chine of a wild boar, for Demodocus the bard. The same respectful politeness is practised, at present, among the American savages. So much are men alike, in similar circumstances. Telemachus complains grievously of Penelope's suitors, that they were gluttons, and consumed his beef and mutton.

In Rome, every guest brought his own napkin to a feast ; which a slave carried home, filled with what was left of the entertainment.

The manners of the Greeks did not correspond to the delicacy of their taste in the fine arts : Nor can it be expected, when they were strangers to that polite society with women, which refines behaviour, and elevates manners.

To live by plunder was held honourable, by some of the Grecian states ; for it was their opinion, that the rules of justice are not intended for restraining the powerful. All strangers were accounted enemies, as among the Romans, and inns were unknown, because people lived at home, having very little intercourse even with those of their own nation. Inns were unknown in Germany, and to this day are unknown in the remote parts of the highlands of Scotland : but the reason is quite opposite. For hospitality prevailed greatly among the ancient Germans, and continues to prevail so much among our highlanders, that a gentleman takes it for an affront, if a stranger pass his door.

At a congress between Francis I. of France, and Henry VIII. of England, among other spectacles for public entertainment, the two Kings had a wrestling-match. Had they forgot that they were sovereign princes ?

CHAP. XVII.

OF THE INFLUENCE OF WAR ON THE HUMAN CHARACTER.

ONE would imagine war to be a soil too rough for the growth of civilization ; and yet it is not always an unkindly soil. War between two small tribes is fierce and cruel ; but a large state mitigates resentment, by directing it not against individuals, but against the state. Cruelty subsides ; and magnanimity, in its stead, transforms soldiers from brutes to heroes. Some time ago, it was usual in France to demand battle ; and it was held dishonourable to decline it, however unequal the match. Before the battle of Pavia, Francis I. wrote to the Marquis Pescara, the Imperial General, “ You will find me before Pavia, and you ought to be here in six days : I give you twenty. Let not the superiority of my forces serve for an excuse ; I will fight you with equal numbers.” Here was heroism without prudence ; but, in all reformatations, it is natural to go from one extreme to another.

While the King of England held any possessions in France, war was perpetual between the two nations, which was commonly carried on with more magnanimity, than is usual between inveterate

enemies. It became customary to give prisoners their freedom, upon a simple parole to return with their ransom at a day named. The same was the custom in the border-wars between the English and Scots, before their union under one monarch. Both parties found their account equally in such honourable behaviour.

Edward Prince of Wales, in a pitched battle against the French, took the illustrious Bertrand du Guesclin prisoner. He long declined to accept a ransom; but, finding it whispered that he was afraid of that hero, he instantly set him at liberty without a ransom. This may be deemed impolitic, or whimsical. But is love of glory less praiseworthy than love of conquest?

The Duke of Guise, who was victorious in the battle of Dreux, rested all night in the field of battle; and gave the Prince of Condé, his prisoner, a share of his bed, where they lay like brothers.

Never was gallantry in war carried to a greater height, than between the English and Scotch borderers, before the crowns were united. The night after the battle of Otterburn, the victors and vanquished lay promiscuously in the same camp, without apprehending the least danger from one another.

The manners of ancient warriors were very different. Homer's hero, though superior to all in bodily strength, takes every advantage of his enemy,
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and never feels either compassion or remorse. The policy of the Greeks and Romans in war, was to weaken a state by plundering its territory, and destroying its people. Humanity with us prevails even in war. Individuals, not in arms, are secure, which saves much innocent blood.

C H A P. XVIII.

OF THE INFLUENCE OF PERSECUTION ON MANNERS.

MANNERS are deeply affected by persecution. The forms of procedure in the Inquisition enable the inquisitors to ruin whom they please. A person accused is not confronted with the accuser. Every sort of accusation is welcome, and from every person. A child, a common prostitute, one branded with infamy, are reputable witnesses. A man is compelled to give evidence against his father, and a woman against her husband. Nay, the persons accused are compelled to inform against themselves, by guessing what sin they may have been guilty of. Such odious, cruel, and tyrannical proceedings made all Spain tremble. Every man distrusted his neighbour, and even his own family. A total end was put to friendship, and to social freedom. Hence the gravity and re-

serve of a people, who have naturally all the vivacity, arising from a temperate clime and bountiful soil*. Hence the profound ignorance of that people, while other European nations are daily improving in every art, and in every science. Human nature is reduced to its lowest ebb, when governed by superstition clothed with power.

C H A P. XIX.

ON SELFISHNESS.

SELFISHNESS prevails among savages; because corporeal pleasures are its chief objects, and of these every savage is perfectly sensible. Benevolence and real affection are too refined for a savage, unless of the simplest kind, such as the ties of blood. While artificial wants were unknown, selfishness, tho' prevalent, made no capital figure. The means of gratifying the calls of nature were in plenty; and men who are not afraid of ever being in want, never think of providing against it. The Caribbeans, who know no wants but what nature inspires, are amazed at the industry of the Europeans

* The populace of Spain, too low game for the Inquisition, are abundantly chearful, perhaps more so than those of France. The Spanish women, it is said, are perpetually dancing, singing, laughing, or talking.

in amassing wealth. Listen to one of them expostulating with a Frenchman in the following terms: "How miserable art thou to expose thy person to tedious and dangerous voyages, and to suffer thyself to be oppressed with anxiety about futurity! An inordinate appetite for wealth is thy bane; and yet thou art no less tormented in preserving the goods thou hast acquired, than in acquiring more. Fear of robbery or shipwreck suffers thee not to enjoy a quiet moment. Thus thou growest old in thy youth, thy hair turns gray, thy forehead is wrinkled, a thousand ailments afflict thy body, a thousand distresses surround thy heart, and thou movest with painful hurry to the grave. Why art thou not content with what thine own country produceth? Why not contemn superfluities, as we do?"

But men are not long contented with simple necessities. An unwearied appetite to be more and more comfortably provided, leads them from necessities to conveniencies, and from these to every sort of luxury. Avarice turns headstrong; and locks and bars, formerly unknown, become necessary to protect people from the rapacity of their neighbours.

When the goods of fortune come to be prized, selfishness soon displays itself. Admiral Watson being introduced to the King of Baba, in Madaga-

scar, was asked by his Majesty, what presents he had brought ? Hence the custom, universal among barbarians, of always accosting a king, or any man of high rank, with presents. Sir John Chardin says, that this custom prevails almost through all Asia. It is reckoned an honour to receive presents. They are received in public ; and a time is chosen when the crowd is greatest. It is a maxim too refined for the potentates of Asia, that there is more honour in bestowing than in receiving.

One peculiar excellence of man, above all other animals, is the capacity he has of improving by education and example. In proportion as his faculties refine, he acquires a relish for society, and finds a pleasure in benevolence, generosity, and in every other kind affection, far above what selfishness can afford. How agreeable is this scene ! Alas, too agreeable to be lasting. Opulence and luxury inflame the hoarding appetite ; and selfishness at last prevails, as it did originally.

C H A P. XX.

OF THE INFLUENCE OF OPULENCE ON
MANNERS.

RUDE and illiterate nations are tenacious of their laws and manners ; for they are governed by custom, which is more and more rivetted by length of time. A people, on the contrary, who are polished by having passed through various scenes, are full of invention, and constantly thinking of new modes: Manners, in particular, can never be stationary in a nation refined by prosperity and the arts of peace. Good government will advance men to a high degree of civilization ; but the very best government will not preserve them from corruption, after becoming rich by prosperity.

Babylon is arraigned by Greek writers for luxury, sensuality and profligacy. But Babylon represents the capital of every opulent kingdom, ancient and modern. The manners of all are the same ; for power and riches never fail to produce luxury, sensuality, and profligacy.

In no other history is the influence of prosperity and opulence on manners so conspicuous, as in that of old Rome. During the second Punic war, when the Romans were reduced by Hannibal to fight *pro aris et focis*, Hiero, King of Syracuse,

sent to Rome a large quantity of corn, with a golden statue of victory weighing three hundred and twenty pounds, which the senate accepted. But, though their finances were at the lowest ebb, they accepted but the lightest of forty golden vases, presented to them by the city of Naples; and politely returned, with many thanks, some golden vases sent by the city of Paestum in Lucania; a rare instance of magnanimity. But no degree of virtue is proof against the corruption of conquest and opulence. Upon the influx of Asiatic riches and luxury, the Romans abandoned themselves to every vice. They became, in particular, wonderfully avaricious, breaking through every restraint of justice and humanity. "After it had become an honour to be rich," says Sallust, "and glory, empire and power, became the attendants of riches, virtue declined apace, poverty was reckoned disgraceful, and innocence was held secret malice. Thus to the introduction of riches our youth owe their luxury, their avarice, and pride."

The profligacy of the Roman people, during the triumvirate of Cæsar, Pompey and Crassus, is painted in lively colours by Appian. "For a long time," says he, "disorder and confusion overspread the commonwealth. No office was obtained but by faction, bribery, or criminal service. No man was ashamed to buy votes, which were sold in open market. One man there was, who, to obtain a
lucrative

lucrative office, expended eight hundred talents.* Ill men enriched themselves with public money, or with bribes. No honest man would stand candidate for an office ; and into a situation so miserable was the commonwealth reduced, that once for eight months it had not a single magistrate."

The free states of Italy, which had become rich by commerce, employed mercenary troops to save their own people, who were more profitably employed at home. But, as mercenaries gained nothing by victory or bloodshed, they did very little execution against one another. They exhausted the states which employed them, without doing any real service. Our condition is in some degree similar. We employ generals and admirals, who, by great appointments, soon lose the relish for glory, intent only to prolong a war for their own benefit. According to our present manners, where luxury and selfishness prevail, it appears an egregious blunder, to enrich a general or admiral, during his command. Have we any reason to expect, that he will fight like one whose fortune depends on his good behaviour? This single error against good policy has reduced Britain more than once to a low condition, and may prove its ruin at last.

* About 150,000 pounds.

C H A P. XXI.

ON THE INTENTION OF LIGHT AND DARKNESS.

LIGHT is intended by our Maker for action, and darkness for rest. In the fourteenth century, the shops in Paris were opened at four in the morning; at present a shopkeeper is scarce awake at seven. The King of France dined at eight in the morning, and retired to his bed-chamber at the same hour in the evening; an early hour at present for public amusements.

The Spaniards adhere to ancient custom; for manners and fashions seldom change where women are locked up. Their King, to this day, dines precisely at noon, and sups no less precisely at nine in the evening.

During the reign of Henry VIII. fashionable people in England breakfasted at seven in the morning, and dined at ten. In Elizabeth's time, the nobility, gentry, and students, dined at eleven in the morning, and supped between five and six in the afternoon. In the reign of Charles II. four in the afternoon was the appointed hour for acting plays. At present, even dinner is at a later hour.

The King of Yeman, the greatest prince in Arabia Felix, dines at nine in the morning, sups at five in the afternoon, and goes to rest at eleven.

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From this short specimen it appears, that the occupations of day-light commence gradually later and later; as if there were a tendency, in polite nations, of converting night into day, and day into night.

Nothing happens without a cause. Light disposes to action, darkness to rest. The diversions of day are tournaments, tennis, hunting, racing, and other active exercises. The diversions of night are sedentary; plays, cards, and conversation. Balls are of a mixed nature, partly active in dancing, partly sedentary in conversing. Formerly active exercises prevailed among a robust and plain people. The milder pleasures of society prevail as manners refine. Hence it is, that candle-light amusements are now fashionable in France, and in other polished countries; and when such amusements are much relished, they banish the robust exercises of the field. Balls, perhaps, were formerly more frequent in day-light. At present, candle-light is the favourable time. The active part is, at that time, equally agreeable, and the sedentary part, more so.

C H A P. XXII.

O N G A M I N G.

GAMING is the vice of idle people. Savages are addicted to gaming ; and those of North America, in particular, are fond to distraction of a game termed *the platter*. A losing gamester will strip himself to the skin ; and some have been known to stake their liberty, though by them valued above all other blessings. Negroes on the slave-coast of Guinea, will stake their wives, their children, and even themselves.

The Greeks were an active and sprightly people constantly engaged in war, or in cultivating the fine arts. They had no leisure for gaming, nor any knowledge of it. Happy for them was their ignorance ; for no other vice tends more to render men selfish, dishonest, and, in the modish style dishonourable. A gamester, a friend to no man, is a very great enemy to himself. The luxurious of the present age pass every hour in gaming, that can be spared from sensual pleasure. Idleness is their excuse, as it is among savages ; and they would, in some degree, be excuseable, were they never actuated by a more disgraceful motive.

C H A P. XXIII.

ON PARTICULAR CUSTOMS.

WRITERS do not carefully distinguish particular customs from general manners. Formerly, women were not admitted upon the stage in France, Italy, or England. At that very time, *none* but women were admitted in Spain. From that fashion, it would be rash to infer, that women have more liberty in Spain, than in the other countries mentioned; for the contrary is true. In Hindostan, established custom prompts women to burn themselves alive with the bodies of their deceased husbands; but from that singular custom, it would be a false inference, that the Hindoo women are either more bold, or more affectionate to their husbands, than in other countries.

The Polanders, even after they became Christians, in the thirteenth century, adhered to the customs of their forefathers, the Samaritans, in killing infants born deformed, and men debilitated by age; which would betoken horrid barbarity, if it were not a singular custom.

Roman Catholics imagine, that there is no religion in England, nor in Holland; because, from a spirit of civil liberty, all sects are there tolerated.

The encouragement given to assassination in Italy, where every church is a sanctuary, makes strangers rashly infer, that the Italians are all assassins.

Writers sometimes fall into an opposite mistake, attributing to a particular nation certain manners and customs, common to all nations, in one or other period of their progress.

It is remarked by Heraclides Ponticus, as peculiar to the Athamanes, that the men fed the flocks, and the women cultivated the ground. This has been the practice of all nations in their progress from the shepherd-state to that of husbandry; and is at present the practice among American savages. The same author observes, as peculiar to the Celtæ and Aphitæi, that they leave their doors open without hazard of theft. But that practice is common among all savages in the first stage of society, before the use of money is known.

C H A P. XXIV.

OF UNNATURAL CUSTOMS.

IF we survey the condition of rude nations, in various corners of the world, we shall find the human frame degraded by violent and unnatural customs. Nor is it in the option of individuals to embrace, or to resist such customs. The violence is frequently, by the imposition of parents, rendered almost coeval with existence. The body, in its infant state, being pliant and ductile, is more easily divested of its just proportions, and the limbs and members are then capable of being moulded into a variety of unnatural and artificial forms, impracticable in maturer years. If distortions, then, of feature and person, are thus early introduced, more serious and extensive consequences may possibly arise from the same source.

Among the Chinese, the smallness of the feet of the women is reckoned a principal part of their beauty, and no swathing is omitted, when they are young to give them that accomplishment; so that when they grow up, they may be said to totter rather than to walk. This fanciful piece of beauty was probably invented by the ancient Chinese, in order to palliate their jealousy.

This violence being directed to the extremities of the body, situated at a distance from the principal

pal organs of sensation, the effect on the animal œconomy is more supportable, and the vitals of the constitution probably elude the injury. But, unfortunately, the impression is made by some tribes of mankind, where the constitution is most vulnerable, and the more sensible parts sustain a shock, annoying to the whole nervous system. Among one people, to flatten the dimensions of the head ; among another, to render it more convex ; parents have recourse to the most shocking expedients of art, and the natural guardians of infancy become its chief tormentors. The names, by which certain Indian tribes in North America have been distinguished, are expressive of such unnatural characteristics. The Caraipees of the West Indies, by contrivances and applications of art nearly similar, have acquired a cast of physiognomy altogether peculiar. The Indians of Asia are not entirely exempted from the same odious abuses. But the principal seat of the enormity is certain regions of Africa, where the art of disfiguring the human person is, perhaps, the only art, which has made such progress among the rude inhabitants as to mark their departure from a state of nature.

In such deplorable fashions, which stifle the voice of nature, the sufferers, and the authors of the sufferings, almost equally claim commiseration. But, to distort the natural form, with an avowed purpose to derange the intellectuals of man, is a conduct so flagitious

flagitious and enormous, as has never stained the manners of savage and untutored tribes; yet, not many ages ago, even this enormity existed in the manners of Europe, where, in various instances, the forming *fools* for the entertainment of the great, was the ultimate end proposed in *mutilating* the human figure.

The recital of such examples fills humanity with horror, and the possibility of their existence would hardly be admitted in a cultivated period, did not history establish the facts, upon incontestible authority, and number them among the corruptions, which are found in so many societies of men, to degrade the dignity of our species.

There is a variety of other customs among rude tribes, which take their rise from the illusions of imagination. In observing the gradations of colour among the races of mankind, our ideas of beauty are often entirely governed, or greatly influenced, by a regard to the most general form of nature we are accustomed to contemplate. Among a nation of Blacks, the White; among a nation of Whites, the Black was never the approved complexion. The Hottentots, an ambiguous race, equally allied to either extreme, are at pains to deepen the shade of Black, as if to maintain a conformity with the prevailing complexion of Africa. On the other hand, the Moors of Barbary, the counterpart of the Hottentots in the northern hemisphere, who possess,
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like them, the medium complexion, discover little predilection for either extreme, which is owing, probably, to an almost equal correspondence with African and European nations.

Upon the same principle, the copper colour of the Americans is regarded among them as a criterion of beauty ; and it seems to be the object of art, by painting the face with vermilion, to maintain, in all its perfection, the predominant complexion of the Indian race.

Even the universal principles of taste, when not duly regulated, may lead to egregious abuse. Unequal degrees of beauty, of elegance, and of strength, enter into the various contexture of the human body ; and all attempts are vain to superinduce by violence or art, that perfection, which is denied by nature. Constitutional blemishes or defects may be heightened by too eager a desire to abolish them ; and by the violent substitution of other proportions and lineaments than are consistent with the primæval configuration of the parts, though more conformable, perhaps, to some ideal standard of perfection.

But some of the more flagrant examples of violence done to the person, to be met with in the customs of rude tribes, are neither authorized nor suggested by any perception of beauty. They are designed, in reality, to create opposite emotions, and are dictated by the ferocity of warlike people, on purpose to confound their enemies, by appearances scarcely human.

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The gentler sex, whose constant aim is to improve the beauty of the outward form, and who subdue mankind only by their charms, even in the African climates, never deviate so far from nature. In the island of Bissao, near to the river Gambia, the matrons are dressed in decent attire; and the persons of the young, though without all sort of apparel, are not unadorned. The degrees of embellishment indicate rank and condition; and the eldest daughter of the reigning monarch is distinguished from the other ladies of the court by elegance of painting, and the richness of her bracelets. But all the happier refinements of fancy are disregarded in the apparatus of war.

The Giagas, those bloody savages of Africa, who are as regardless of natural as of moral beauty, assume the most infernal aspect to render themselves more formidable to other tribes. The same principle authorizes the abuse of person among various Indian tribes in North America; and authorized it, according to Tacitus the Roman Historian, among a tribe of the ancient Germans.

But an aspect so tremendous to a foreign enemy, may become venerable among people of the same tribe. The dignity of the expression is more considered than the deformity of the picture. The beautiful is absorbed in the sublime; and the spectacle, how odious soever in itself, is endured, as descrip-

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tive of the degrees of heroism and martial vigour ; virtues chiefly respected in a rude age.

Religious fanaticism, it may be observed, is frequently another source of the most wretched debasement. Penances, mortifications, Monkish severities, and a number of flagrant observances, in the ritual of superstition, that annoy our frame, have, to the disgrace of the world, been deemed meritorious in the sight of Heaven ; as if one species of guilt could be expiated by another ; or, as if to deform and abuse our nature, could ever be acceptable to the author of all beauty and excellence.

But it is not necessary to carry our researches anxiously into the principles, which have concurred, to the introduction and establishment of so many absurd customs among mankind. It is sufficient to observe, that the customs themselves, from what fountain soever they flow, are often attended with consequences, no less destructive, than odious. Thus, what arises from human folly, may become undistinguishable from the *original workmanship* ; or rather, certain distinctions, at first adventitious, may become the characteristics of a tribe, and even be, in part, transmissible and hereditary to future generations.

The customs, indeed, under review, belong chiefly to an unpolished state of society ; but they are often succeeded by others of a tendency somewhat

what similar. The swathing of infants, the confinement of dress, and other absurd practices in our œconomy, unprecedented among barbarians, might be mentioned as counterparts of the same violence, among polished nations. In general, perhaps, the hardy discipline of early times is more auspicious to health, vigour, and symmetry of form, than the more refined culture, and softer habits, of a luxurious age.

But, without running the parallel of public manners, in different periods of civil progress, it may be affirmed, that some of the grosser and more heinous abuses, we have here remarked, are irrecoverably destructive of the human figure, and perhaps remotely touch the springs of our intellectual frame.

C H A P. XXV.

ON THE RESEMBLANCE OF THE ORANG
OUTANG TO MAN.

THE Orang Outang, in a great measure, resembles man in the structure of his body, and therefore, says Mr. Buffon, the Indians are excusable for having associated him with the human race, under the name of *Orang Outang*, which signifies in their language, a *wild man*.

As to the relations of travellers concerning this animal, I shall begin, says Lord Monboddó*, with that of Bontius, who was first physician in Batavia, and has written a learned natural history of India, in which he relates, that he saw several Orang Outangs, of both sexes, walking erect; and he particularly observed the female, that she shewed signs of modesty, by hiding herself from men, whom she did not know. And he adds that she wept and groaned, and performed other human actions: so that little seemed to be wanting in her, except speech.

Purchas, in his collection of voyages, reports, upon the credit of one Battel, whom he saw and conversed with, that there is, in Africa, an animal, which he calls *Pongo*, resembling a man in

* This curious account is taken from his lordship's animadversions on the subject.

every respect, only that he is much bigger, and like a giant;—that these animals walk always upright, and are armed with sticks, with which they attack even elephants, and drive them out of their woods. They live upon fruits only, and eat no flesh. They sleep in trees, and make huts to defend themselves against the sun and rain; and, when one of them dies, the rest cover the body with a heap of branches and foliage. He says there are two kinds of them; the one he calls *Pongo*, which is tall; and the other he calls *Enjocko*, or *Jocko*, who is much less than a man. He says, that they cannot speak; but have more understanding than the other animals. He adds, that Battel told him, that they had carried off from him a little negro boy, who came back to him again, after staying a year with them, without suffering any harm.

Gassendi, the philosopher, having advanced, upon the credit of one St. Ammand, a traveller, that there were, in the island of Java, apes resembling men; the fact was denied: M. Peiresc, however, in defence of Gassendi's assertion, produced a letter from Mr. Noelle, a physician, who was then living in Africa. Mr. Buffon has quoted the very words of the letter; the substance of which is, that in Guinea, there are apes of great size to which he gives the name of *Barri*. They have long white beards, which give them a venerable appearance; and they walk with gravity and com-

posure. When they are clothed, they immediately walk erect ; and they play very well upon the pipe, harp, and other instruments.

Mr. Buffon quotes three other travellers as giving the same account of these Barri ; and he quotes a fourth, who speaks of their great docility, saying, that if they are caught, and taught when they are young, they learn to perform all domestic offices, and, particularly, to carry water ; and, if they let fall, and break the vessel, they fall a crying.

Mr. de la Brosse, who made a voyage to Angola in 1738, says, that the Orang Outangs, whom he calls by the name of *Quimpezes*, being probably the name which the natives of Angola gave them, are from six to seven feet high. They make to themselves huts ; and the weapon they use is a stick. He says further, that he purchased from a negro two young Orang Outangs, one of which was a male, fourteen moons old, and the other a female of twelve moons. He carried them aboard the ship with him ; and he says, that they had the instinct to eat of every thing, and to drink wine and other liquors. They contrived to make themselves understood to the cabin-boys ; and when they did not give them what they wanted, they fell into a passion, seized them, bit them, and threw them down to the ground. The male, he says, fell sick, while they were on the road, and made himself to be treated like a sick person. He

was

was twice blooded ; and afterwards, when he ailed any thing, he held out his arm, and made signs that they should bleed him.

Another authority, quoted by Mr. Buffon, is, that of an English traveller, one Harry Gros, who relates, that, somewere upon the coast of Coromandel, there were two of the little * kind caught, scarcely three feet high, the one a male, and the other a female, and given, as a present, to Mr. Horn, the governor of Bombay ;—that they were entirely of the human form ;—that their action, in a great measure, resembled that of a man ;—and that they made their bed in the box, in which they were put, with great care. They were sensible of their captivity, and appeared, on that account, melancholy. The female died on board a ship, which afflicted the other so much, that he abstained from food, and survived his companion but two days.

And, that we may have the authority of an Italian, as well as a French and English traveller, I shall quote, from Mr. Buffon, the testimony of Gamelli Carreri, who says, that these apes seem to have more wit than men, in certain respects. For, when the fruits upon the mountains fail, they come down to the shore, where they find oysters of a great size,

* Some of the Orang Outanga are from six to seven feet, and others of them do not exceed three feet, in height.

weighing several pounds. Some of these lie open upon the beech. But, for fear they should shut, and catch them, while they are taking out the oyster, they put in a stone, which prevents that danger ; and so they take out the oyster without any risk.

The last testimony I shall mention, from Buffon, is that of Buffon himself, who says, that he saw one of the small kind, who walked always upon two ; and, in that, and all his movements, was grave and composed. He was of a sweet temper, and, in that respect very different from the ape or Monkey kind : for he did every thing, that he was desired to do, by signs or words ; whereas those of the other kind did nothing, but from the fear of blows. He gave his hand to those who came to see him, in order to shew them the way out ; walked with them, with great gravity, as if he had been of their company ; and when he was set at table, he behaved, in every respect, like a man, not only doing what he was bid, but often acting voluntarily, and without being desired.

To these authorities, I shall add that of a credible merchant in Bristol, who was formerly captain of a ship trading to the slave coast of Africa, and made several voyages thither. His son succeeded him in the command of the ship, and continued the trade for several years.

“ Of

“ Of this animal,” says he, “ there are three classes or species. The first, and largest, is by the natives called *Pongo*. This wonderful, and frightful production of nature walks upright like man,—is from seven to nine feet high,—when at maturity, thick in proportion, and amazingly strong,—covered with jet black hair all over the body,—and of a black complexion. When this animal sees any negroes, it generally pursues and catches them; but seldom kills them. It lives on the fruits and roots of the country, at the expence chiefly of the labour of the natives; and when it happens to be where there is no water, there is a tree with a juicy bark, which it strikes with its hand, bruises, and sucks the juice; and some of this tree it often carries with it, when it travels, in case it should not find it, or water by the way. And indeed, I have heard them say, that it can throw down a palm-tree, by its amazing strength, to come at the wine. I never saw this animal; but there was a young one brought down from the inland country to the king of Malemba, while my son was there. The people that brought it down said, that, during the several months they had it, it was very composed, and took its victuals and drink quietly. But when it came to the King’s town, such amazing crowds came to see it from all quarters, that it grew sullen and sulky, for being so exposed, would eat no victuals, and died in four or five days. It was young, and about six feet and

a half high. Neither I nor my son have ever seen this extraordinary animal ; for it is only to be seen in the kingdom of Angola. But my son, in his last voyage, saw the hand of one of them cut off, a little above the wrist, which, though dry and withered when he saw it, was so much larger than the hand of an ordinary man, that it must have belonged to an animal of no less size than nine feet, or perhaps greater. It is said to be the strongest of all the beasts of the wood. All are afraid of it.

The little one, called Chimpenza, resembles the other in shape, and walks oftener on all-fours than upright. We scarce know when this animal comes to a state of maturity, or the common period of its life. It is reported, that these Chimpenzas live together in communities, and build little towns or villages ; that, when their houses are finished, they immediately leave them, and set about building more, never chusing to sleep, but as few nights as possible, in one place. They are governed by a King, who does not work, and have their games and pastimes, as well as the negroes. When taken young, and accustomed to the natives in their dwellings, they cannot be prevailed upon to stir out of doors after it is dark. One, at Serraleon, in my time, when the women used to go out to gather sticks, went with them, and gathered its bundle ; and, when they went for water, carried its pitcher or jar, and brought it home full with the rest.

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The complexion of this animal is rather darker than that of a mulatto; and the mouth is so large and wide, that it reaches almost from ear to ear. It has a flat nose, long chin, and a good regular set of teeth like ours. Its face is so ugly and comical, that it cannot fail to excite laughter. And, I have heard the natives say, that if they are laughed at, they take it to heart; which I believe is the reason, why scarce one of them can be brought home alive. The young one, I got at Serraleon, could be kept alive only three months; and this might be the cause of his untimely end; as a friend of mine, who resided there many years, told me, that the natives assured him, that if they were made game of, it had such an effect upon them, that they languished and died. My answer to him was, if that was the case, they must die; for it was impossible to look at them without laughing.

The Chimpenza, at its full growth, is about three feet high, and very strong, as appears by a droll adventure, that happened near Cabenda, with one of these animals, the last time my son was there. As the women in that country do the greatest part of the work of the field, one of them told her husband, that something ate the corn and sugar-canes, He accordingly got up early next morning, and loaded his gun; and seeing some of these animals among the corn, he fired, and wounded one, which happened to be a female. The male, alarmed at

its cries, and exasperated, pursued the negro, who had just time to get into his house, and shut the door, before the Chimpenza came up with him. It soon burst open the door, seized the negro, and dragged him out of the house to the place where the female lay dead or wounded, and the people of the neighbourhood could not rescue the negro, nor force the Chimpenza to quit his hold of him, till they shot him likewise. This man used to come to the factories, and goes by the name of the Chimpenza, and I suppose will as long as he lives.

These animals live chiefly or altogether on the fruits of the country, such as plantains, bananas, palm-nuts, sugar-canes, and ears of corn, which they roast as the natives do. I asked how they made their fire; and was told, that they take a stick out of the black people's fire, who are at work in the field, and so make their own. The Itzena is a species betwixt the two former, being greater than the Chimpenza, and less than the Pongo. They herd by themselves, not mixing with either of the two other kinds."

In certain parts of the world, the Orang Outang is to be found with some use of articulation. This is attested by Maillet, the author of the Description of Egypt. In this work he relates, "that, in 1702, the Dutch East India company sent out two vessels from Batavia for the coasts of New Guinea, and the southern countries, in order to trade and make discoveries.

discoveries. During that expedition, which was of no use, the Dutch seized two male animals, which they brought to Batavia, and which in the language of the country where they were taken, they called *Orangs Outangs*, that is, *Wild inhabitants of the woods*. They had the human form, and like us walked upon two legs. Their legs and arms were very small, and quite covered with hair, some of which they also had on the whole of their body, their faces not excepted. Their feet were flat, where they are joined to the leg; so that they resembled a piece of plank with a baton driven into it. These *Orangs Outangs* had the nails of their fingers and toes very long, and somewhat crooked. They could only articulate sounds very indistinctly; but were very melancholy, gentle, and peaceable. The one died at Batavia, and the other in the road to Holland, whither he was sent as a curiosity, worthy the admiration of all Europe."

The substance of all these different relations is, that the *Orang Outang*, though an animal much resembling man, is not (according to Lord Monboddo's hypothesis) possessed of reason, or human intelligence, any more than a horse, a dog, or a parrot, but is only a species of the ape.

C H A P. XXVI.

OF THE INFLUENCE OF CLIMATE ON THE
HUMAN CONSTITUTION.

WHILE the elements swarm with life ; while earth, sea, and air, are peopled with their proper inhabitants ; while different tribes have habitations assigned to them in particular corners of the globe, where alone they can find subsistence ;—man erects for himself a mansion in every country, subsists on a variety of aliment, prepared, or unprepared, by art, and breathes with equal freedom in the frozen, or in the burning zone.

There is no one country, on the face of the earth, which is declared, by general consent, to be the fittest residence for man. That influence of the heavens seems to be relatively the best, which habit has rendered the most familiar, And to exchange, of a sudden, one climate for another, is always hazardous for any tribe or people. Yet the positive malignancy of no climate of the world can be inferred from the dangers, which are so often consequent on the migrations of mankind. Our physical habits are established or dissolved by slow degrees. Violent transitions seem repugnant to nature, and often threaten our constitution with destruction. But if it can resist the impetuosity of
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the shock, the body accommodates itself by degrees to its new condition. Things offensive become indifferent, or even agreeable; things noxious, innocent, or salutary, and in time, perhaps, so essential that no danger were more to be apprehended, than a return to ancient habits.

Emigrants can learn only from experience the peculiarities of other climates; and, in the course of that experience, they struggle with a series of calamities from which the natives of those climates are exempt, and from which the posterity of those emigrants will be exempt, in succeeding generations.

In some climates of the world, the body arrives soon at maturity, and hastens to a dissolution with a proportionable celerity. In other climates, a longer period is allowed both for its progress and decline. In the ages of antiquity, the Britons were remarkable for the longest, the Egyptians for the least extended life; while the ordinary standard, in other countries, deviated, as was supposed, more or less from these opposite extremes. Consistently with the same order of second causes, modern history informs us of a variety of people, among whom the natural term of life exceeds not, or even falls below the standard of Egypt; and the Britons yield, perhaps, in longevity, to the more northern nations.

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The balance of numbers, indeed, may not be affected by such distinctions. If climates the most prolific are also the most destructive to the human species the rules of proportion are not broken ; and the increase of mankind, in one country, may be as effectually advanced by the prolongation of life, as in another by a more abundant progeny.

In all ages of the world, the term of our existence, though dependent on a multiplicity of causes, seems to have had some reference to climate ; and in general to have increased with the latitude. Strength and vigour of body, till we arrive at the limit of the Polar circle, are found to increase in a similar progression.

Stature and magnitude, on the other hand, are at least as considerable in the warmer, as in the colder regions. And the most diminutive and dwarfish of the human race are, perhaps, the natives of the frigid zone.

The Patagonian stature, after exercising so long the curiosity, the scepticism, and the credulity of the public, is at last sufficiently ascertained, and seems not to violate, in any marvellous degree, the usual description of man.

But, as a contrast to this, the world has been also amused with an account of a nation, in the island of Madagascar, where the ordinary stature rises not above three feet and a half. It is not, however, pretended, that the Patagonians are eminent

ment for intellectual abilities, above other tribes of Barbarians ; and the little people of Madagascar seem to have nothing dwarfish, in the constitution of their minds. They are described, by an intelligent writer, as a warlike people, and a match in genius, in conduct, and in enterprize, for the other natives of the island.

No historian has described that measure of animal strength, that symmetry of outward proportion, or that natural term of existence, which, in the course of human life, is found most connected with the largest endowments and accomplishments of the species. In every age and country, these combinations and assemblages are too dissimilar and various, to form the basis of any theory.

Great defects in the animal constitution often coincide with the perfection of understanding ; and great defects in the intellectual, with the utmost perfection in all the animal powers. Some illustrious examples of such coincidences occur among the characters of the last age ; — an age, perhaps, as fertile of intellectual talents, as the world has ever seen. One of these is Lord Falkland, whose disadvantages of person are contrasted with excellence of mind, by the noble historian*, who has delivered his name down to posterity, as a model of perfection. Another is Sir Charles Cavendish, whose character, as delineated by the same

* Lord Clarendon.

masterly hand, conveys a moral lesson to posterity.

“ The conversation,” says his lordship, speaking of himself, “ that the Chancellor took most delight in, was that of Sir Charles Cavendish, brother to the Marquis, who was one of the most extraordinary persons of that age, in all the noble endowments of the mind. He had all the disadvantages imaginable in his person, which was not only of so small a size, that it drew the eyes of men upon him; but with such a deformity in his little person, and an aspect in his countenance, that was apter to raise contempt than application. But in this unhandsome or homely habitation, there was a mind and a soul lodged that was very lively and beautiful; cultivated and polished by all the knowledge and wisdom, that arts and sciences could supply it with. He was a great philosopher in the extent of it, and an excellent mathematician, whose correspondence was very dear to Gassendi and Descartes, the last of whom dedicated some of his works to him. He had very notable courage; and the vigour of his mind so adorned his body, that being with his brother the Marquis in all the war, he usually went out in all parties, and charged the enemy in all battles with as keen a courage as could dwell in the heart of man. But then the goodness of his disposition, the humility and meekness of his nature, and the vivacity of his wit were admirable. He was so
modest

modest, that he could hardly be prevailed upon to enlarge on subjects which he understood better than other men, except he were pressed by his very intimate friends ; as if he thought it presumption to know more than handsomer men use to do. Above all, his virtue and piety were such, that no temptation could work upon him to consent to any thing, that swerved, in the least degree, from the precise rules of honour, or the most severe rules of conscience."

Thus far the noble historian, who in the last feature of the character seems to have drawn, by anticipation, the Cavendishes of our days ; whose inflexible integrity and patriotism appear in the British senate ; and whose hereditary virtues are worthy of the house of Cavendish, and of the former age.

The human mind is independent on the laws of mechanism, and allied with a nobler system. A disregard of this high prerogative has contaminated, in some instances, the conduct of nations. Hence the policy of Sparta authorised an institution, the most shocking in the proceedings of mankind,—that institution of Lycurgus, by which children of a delicate frame were condemned to instant death, from a supposed connexion between intellectual and corporeal infirmity. How different is the wisdom of nature, which usually renders such children the darling objects of parental care!—

care!—Had the Spartan rule been adopted in our age, England had not reared up a Pope and a Lyttelton, nor Europe bred a Voltaire.

Some predominant qualities in rude and savage tribes are to be ascribed, in the opinion of ingenious writers, to the face of the country they inhabit. The emotions in the breast of the savage derive, it seems, a degree of wildness and ferocity from the chaos which surrounds him; and a certain adjustment and embellishment of the outward objects, is requisite to dispel the gloom of life, to enliven and exhilarate the spirits, to mollify the temper, and to render it humane.

“ The attentive mind,
 “ By this harmonious action on her pow'rs,
 “ Becomes herself harmonious.”

But this adjustment is not equally indispensable, throughout the habitable globe. For, independently of culture the scene from the hand of nature is more or less magnificent, more or less adorned. Here are immense deserts; there delicious plains. This, the region of clouds and storms; that, of a more placid and benignant sky. Here predominates the beautiful; there the sublime. The emotions hence generated correspond; and the tone of temper, and of manners, is in unison with the natural world.

C H A P. XXVII.

ON THE FEMALE SEX.

WITH regard to the outlines, men and women are the same. Nature, however, intending them for mates, has given them dispositions different but concordant, so as to produce together delicious harmony. The man, more robust, is fitted for severe labour, and for field exercise. The woman, more delicate, is fitted for sedentary occupations ; and particularly for nursing children. That difference is remarkable in the mind, no less than in the body. A boy is always running about ; delights in a top or a ball, and rides upon a stick as a horse. A girl has less inclination to move. Her first amusement is a baby, which she delights to dress and undress. I have seen oftener than once a female child under six getting an infant in its arms, caressing, singing, and walking about, staggering under the weight. A boy never thinks of such a pastime. The man, bold and vigorous, is qualified for being a protector. The woman, delicate and timid, requires protection. The man, as a protector, is directed by nature to govern. The woman, conscious of inferiority, is disposed to obey.

Their intellectual powers correspond to the distinction of nature. Men have penetration and solid

solid judgment, to fit them for governing. Women have a sufficient understanding to make a decent figure under good government. A greater proportion would excite dangerous rivalship. Women have more imagination and more sensibility than men; and yet none of them have made an eminent figure in any of the fine arts. We hear of no sculptor nor statuary among them; and none of them have risen above a mediocrity in poetry or painting. Nature has avoided rivalship between the sexes, by giving them different talents.

The gentle and insinuating manners of the female sex, tend to soften; and wherever women are indulged with any freedom, they are sooner polished than men.

“ The chief quality of women,” says Rousseau, “ is sweetness of temper. Made by nature for submission in the married state, they ought to learn to suffer wrong, even without complaining. Sourness and stubbornness serve but to increase the husband’s unkindness, and their own distresses. It was not to indulge bad humours, that Heaven bestowed on them manners insinuating and persuasive. They were not made weak, in order to be imperious. A sweet voice suits ill with scolding. Delicate features ought not to be disfigured with passion. They frequently may have reason for complaints; but never to utter them publicly.”

These are not the only particulars that distinguish the sexes. With respect to matrimony, it is the privilege of the male, as superior and protector, to make a choice. The female preferred has no privilege but barely to consent or to refuse. Nature fits them for these different parts. The male is bold, the female bashful. Hence among all nations it is the practice for men to court, and for women to be courted.

Another distinction is equally visible. The master of a family is immediately connected with his country. His wife, his children, his servants, are immediately connected with him, and with their country through him only. Women accordingly have less patriotism than men; and less bitterness against the enemies of their country.

The peculiar modesty of the female sex is also a distinguishing circumstance. Nature hath provided them with it, as a defence against the artful solicitations of the other sex before marriage, and also as a support of conjugal fidelity.

C H A P. XXVIII.

ON THE ORIGIN OF LOVE.

LOVE is composed of that physical want to which the Creator attaches the propagation of the species, and of that universal tie of the moral world, which induces us to join ourselves to a determined object, to form a small society.

To prove this truth, one need only examine what happens to every attentive man in a numerous assembly of women. He will not always be most taken with the handsomest. He will most frequently be determined in favour of a woman by her physiognomy, or graces. Now, that physiognomy, and those graces are outward signs of the qualities and disposition of the soul. We consequently determine for the qualities of that character, whose conformity with our own, or the esteem in which we hold them, promise us the greatest happiness in an intimate commerce.

The shape alone let others prize

The features of the fair ;

I look for spirit in her eyes,

And meaning in her air.

A damask cheek, and ivory arm,

Shall ne'er my wishes win :

Give me an animated form

That speaks a mind within.

A face, where awful honour shines,
 Where sense and sweetness move,
 And angel innocence refines
 The tenderness of love.

These are the soul of beauty's frame,
 Without whose vital aid
 Unfinish'd all her features seem,
 And all her roses dead.

But ah ! were both their charms unite,
 How perfect is the view,
 With every image of delight,
 With graces ever new !

Of power to charm the greatest woe,
 The wildest rage controul;
 Diffusing mildness o'er the brow,
 And rapture through the soul.

Their power but faintly to express
 All language must despair;
 But go, behold Maria's face,
 And read it perfect there.

C H A P XXIX.

FALSE OPINIONS CONCERNING LOVE.

SOME philosophers, struck with the force of the physical want, admit in love only that gross desire. The call of nature alone, say they, is worth heeding in that passion; the rest is only a refinement of self-love, which man adds for his torment. This cynical opinion degrades humanity, and puts us upon a level with the brutes. Happily for us, the inward sentiments of every reasonable man flatly contradict it.

Others, either enthusiasts or hypocrites, banish from love, all that interests, the pleasures of the senses. They talk to us of an universal harmony, —an inclination for the primitive beauty,—a sympathy of souls which, separated, seek every means to rejoin each other. Thus tearing man to pieces, they form to themselves a phantom, of which experience shews them the non-existence, by making them feel that they have a body as well as a soul.

Of these two false and over-strained opinions, the last is however the most sufferable. Upon seeing two strangers, one of whom should be most smitten with the mind and graces, and the other with beauty, I should be prejudiced in favour of the former.

former. Regularity of features, and fineness of complexion, are not the marks of a fair soul. The person, who is struck with them only, is sensual, and little fit to attain to virtue or great talents. He that esteems, that cherishes the signs of beauty in the soul, proves to me, by that analogy of ideas, his disposition to acquire, or his happiness in possessing the most estimable qualities. The person, who is taken by the eye only, discovers a little mind. A beautiful, as well as very sensible lady declares, that she looks upon this unhappy disposition to be one of the greatest defects.

C H A P. XXX.

OF LOVE, IN AN INFANT SOCIETY.

AN infant society, whose subsistence is but precarious, is wholly taken up with providing the first necessities of life. The members of such a society, embarrassed for a livelihood, feel love as a part of their wants, and satisfy it as grossly, as they do hunger and thirst. Their vagrant life hindering them from having any peculiar possession, their women will be almost common.

The savages present us the picture of an infant society. They treat love in a manner suitable to

their barbarous state. To see a woman for the first time, and to receive the greatest favours she can grant, are things quite usual among them.

Encomiums are bestowed upon what is called the vigorous, the manly manners of ancient times ; times when fierce men abandoned themselves to wrath, to revenge, to the most violent passions ; when a woman opened her arms to receive the first comer. Is not this praising barbarism ? Is it not commending the sweetness of the acorn, whilst we have plenty of the most delicious meats ?

C H A P. XXXI.

OF LOVE IN A SOCIETY, WHOSE MANNERS
BEGIN TO BE SOFTENED.

AS a society acquires strength and consistence, its maners are softened, and the spirit of property introduces itself. It is as natural to wish to be the sole possessor of a fine woman, as of a convenient house, or a fruitful field. When 'all the faculties of the soul are no longer engrossed by care and solicitude for absolute necessaries, the comforts of society are better felt, the social virtues are better known. The desires of love join with friendship, and that passion assumes a more decent form.

These

These alterations in the manners of men are effected only by slow degrees, and in the course of several ages. The Greeks, not far removed from the heroic times, which might rather be called savage and barbarous, retained an astonishing roughness of manners. Their way of considering and treating love is shockingly gross, and artless to a degree that disgusts.

C H A P. XXXII.

OF LOVE, IN A SOCIETY AGGRANDIZED BY RICHES.

WHEN a society has subsisted for any length of time, when it has aggrandized itself, and acquired riches, and when those riches have favoured the culture of the sciences and arts, it necessarily falls into an excess of luxury. Luxury, being by its nature inclined to abuse all property, will also abuse that of women. They will again become almost common. Manners grow corrupted; decency disappears. What scenes of gross and unbridled vices do not the voluptuous courts of the successors of Alexander, and Rome under the tyrannical government of her Emperors, present to our view.

This is the circle prescribed to the form of love, as well as to public happiness. We are at first barbarians,

and consequently uncivilized and unhappy. Quitting that barbarism, we become for a while acquainted with happiness and politeness. We then are plunged into luxury. That luxury enervates and corrupts us, and our refinements throw us back into unhappiness and barbarism.

A Roman lady reproached a British lady with the barbarous custom of ancient Britain, which abandoned its fine women to all warriors. "We are as much barbarians as you," answered the Briton; "the only difference is, that we do openly with men of merit, what you do privately with the meanest of men."

C H A P. XXXIII.

OF LOVE IN A REPUBLIC.

THE form of government generally determines the manners of a people. It ought also to determine the manner of treating love. In republics, whose constitution depends on virtue, the manners are simple and pure. The spirit of patriotism, and the desire of glory, possess all the faculties of those republican souls, and leave but little activity to the other passions. The civil institutions are stable and respected. Love, in a republic, will consequently preserve its natural simplicity; and marriages will be the more secure.

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All the members of a good republic think themselves concerned in the government. Incessantly busied with great interests, they feel little of those humiliating hours of idle weariness of mind, which make men run after frivolous amusements, honoured with the name of pleasures. They will live little with women, who, by the simplicity of their manners are kept within doors. They will give them only the moments consecrated to domestic friendship. The idle, and the sensual, will be obliged to seek for disgust among despicable women. History informs us, that this method of treating love was that of the Greeks and Romans, in the noblest times of their republics.

CHAP XXXIV.

LOVE OF THE ORIENTALS.

THE political slavery of despotism necessarily draws after it civil slavery, and domestic servitude. Among the people of those unhappy nations, a wife is only the slave of her husband. The great put a fine woman into their seraglio, as we put a fine bird into an aviary. The number of these melancholy victims shews the grandeur of their master. These women, whose souls are enervated, whose minds are destroyed, and whose

sentiments are debased by a bad education, are not capable of inspiring a real attachment. A scornful master sees them, to pass an idle hour, out of a habitude of gross pleasure. In those wretched countries, the physical want only is known. Jealousy, the natural consequence of that slavery, banishes the women from society.

Such is the love of the Turks. The dogmas of Mahomet have undoubtedly contributed to the contempt in which his followers hold women. The Mussulmen look upon them as the instruments of their pleasures in the life to come; they cannot, by consequence, have a higher idea of them in this. Their contempt preserves them from all attachment to a degraded sex, and prevents the activity of social instinct.

C H A P. XXXV.

OF LOVE IN MONARCHIES.

IT is in monarchies that love takes the most different forms. Honour, the great spirit of that kind of government, keeps its nature in great souls and remains what it ought to be, the love of true glory. In little souls, it degenerates into vanity. In a state, where every individual endeavours to raise himself, they, whose feeble talents cannot aspire to great enterprizes, form others proportioned to their weakness. Not being able to conquer enemies, they endeavour to triumph over the prejudices of women. A sort of glory is tacked to these frivolous conquests, to shew the merit of which, such arguments are alledged, as ought often to humble the pride of him that uses them. These ridiculous conquerors, unable to perform things truly great, strive to make themselves amends in their own conceit, by bringing little ones into vogue. Such is the pedigree of foppery.

Few citizens in a monarchy, are charged with the cares of government. Few well know how to nourish the great passions, ambition, and the love of true glory. They will pursue those which are more easily satisfied. Love, with them, will act a principal part. The idleness of the men, and the freedom of the women, the natural consequences of

this form of government, will produce a continual commerce between the two sexes. Those women, who shall find themselves possessed of talents, and who cannot have employment, will give into intrigue, and will have a great influence in affairs. This influence of the fair sex, joined to the foppishness of the men, will beget a romantic idea of love. Great sentiments will be held in honour.

A great monarchy, which supposes power and riches, falls into great luxury as its power and riches increase. If luxury gets possession of a nation, the sublime idea of love will vanish, and be succeeded by one quite opposite. It is the nature of luxury to subsist by a continual change of tastes, and this restlessness of tastes leads to fancies. Enervated souls can no longer fix to any thing, but glory in their inconsistency and levity. False delicacy, dwelling upon no one object, exhausts them all; and, finding no longer the means of satisfying itself with what really exists, forms to itself phantoms. This habit of inconstancy and false taste extends to the mode of the passions. A solid attachment becomes ridiculous. Pleasure is run after without being found. Instead of love, connections are formed founded on vanity, and that passion is no longer any thing more than the wrong turn of a disordered brain.

C H A P. XXXVI.

OF LOVE AMONG THE NORTHERN NATIONS.

O DIN, the great legislator of the North, promises to his warriors a paradise, where they will enjoy all the pleasures of the senses, drink delicious beer, and have beautiful women. Already, in this life, the possession of a fine woman was the reward of courage. Prejudices so favourable to the sex gained him great distinction. The people of the North in general, and the Germans in particular, saw something divine in women. They were consulted in weighty affairs. They were the prophetesses of the nation. Their persons were sacred.

Women, among the ancient Greeks and Romans (as we have before hinted) seem to have been considered merely as objects of sensuality, or of domestic conveniency. They had few attentions paid them, and were permitted to take as little share in the conversation, as in the general commerce of life.

But the northern nations, who paid a kind of devotion to the softer sex, even in their native forests, had no sooner settled themselves in the provinces of the Roman empire, than the female character began to assume new consequence. Those fierce barbarians, who seemed to thirst only for
F 6
blood,

blood, who involved in one undistinguished ruin the monuments of ancient grandeur and ancient ingenuity, and who devoted to the flames the knowledge of ages, always forbore to offer any violence to the women. They brought along with them the respectful gallantry of the North, which had power to restrain even their savage ferocity ; and they introduced into the West of Europe, a generosity of sentiment, and a complaisance toward the ladies, to which the most polished nations of antiquity were strangers.

These sentiments of generous gallantry were fostered by the institution of chivalry, which lifted woman yet higher in the scale of life. Instead of being nobody in society, she became its **PRIMUM MOBILE**. Every knight devoting himself to danger, declared himself the humble servant of some lady, and that lady was often the object of his love. Her honour was supposed to be intimately connected with his, and her smile was the reward of his valour. For her he attacked, for her he defended, and for her he shed his blood. Courage, animated by so powerful a motive, lost sight of every thing but enterprize. Incredible toils were cheerfully endured ; incredible actions were performed ; and adventures, seemingly fabulous, were more than realized.

The effect was reciprocal. Women, proud of their influence, became worthy of the heroism
which

which they had inspired. They were not to be approached, but by the high-minded and the brave; and men then could only be admitted to the bosom of the chaste fair, after proving their fidelity and affection by years of perseverance and of peril.

C H A P. XXXVII.

ON THE NECESSITY AND HAPPINESS OF MATRIMONY.

PROVIDENTIAL care descends even to vegetable life. Every plant bears a profusion of seed, and in order to cover the earth with vegetables, some seeds have wings, some are scattered by means of a spring, and some are so light as to be carried about by the wind. Brute animals, which do not pair, have grass and other food in plenty, enabling the female to feed her young, without needing any assistance from the male. But, where the young require the nursing care of both parents, pairing is a law of nature.

When other races are so amply provided for, can it be seriously thought, that Providence is less attentive to the human race? Man is a helpless being before the age of fifteen or sixteen; and there may be in a family ten or twelve children of different births, before the eldest can shift for itself. Now in the original state of hunting and fishing,
which

which are laborious occupations, and not always successful, a woman, suckling her infant, is not able to provide food even for herself, much less for ten or twelve voracious children. Matrimony, therefore, is so necessary to the human race, that it must be an appointment of Heaven. This conclusion cannot be resisted by any one who believes in Providence, and in final causes.

To confirm this doctrine, let the consequences of a loose commerce between the sexes be examined. The carnal appetite, when confined to one object, seldom transgresses the bounds of temperance. But were it encouraged to roam, like a bee, sucking honey from every flower, every new object would inflame the imagination. Satiety with respect to one, would create new desires with respect to others, and animal love would become the ruling passion.

Friendship constitutes the greatest part of our happiness. Without this, there is nothing agreeable in society. Without this, glory and riches are but a burden, and pleasure itself hath no relish. Now, where can this be found so perfect, and so fraught with the most pure delights, as in the marriage state? Where can such resemblance or conformity of affections be expected, as between two persons, who ought to have the same heart, and the same soul? What conversation can be more free and reserved, than that between those, who have come
under

under mutual engagements never to part? Can there be a greater satisfaction in life, than to have a faithful companion, to whom we may freely discover every joy and every sorrow, and with whom we may intrust every private thought with an entire confidence?

How delightful is that society, in which every instant furnishes either side, with new occasions to commend and rejoice in their choice; in which felicity and public approbation shine continually upon two fortunate persons, who have given themselves to each other for life; in which all their desires are incessantly satisfied; and in which the love of distinction has nothing to seek beyond that society?

Oh! woman! lovely woman! Nature made you
To temper man: We had been brutes without you!
Angels are painted fair to look like you:
There's in you all that we believe of heav'n,
Amazing brightness, purity and truth,
Eternal joy and everlasting love!

OTWAY.

All other goods by Fortune's hand are given,
A wife, is the peculiar gift of Heaven.

POPE.

C H A P.

C H A P. XXXVIII.

O N P O L Y G A M Y.

POLYGAMY is a gross infringement of the law of nature. The equal number of males and females is a clear indication, that Providence intends every man to be confined to one wife, and every woman to one husband. That equality, which has subsisted in all countries, and at all times, is a signal instance of over-ruling providence; for the chances against it are infinite.

All men are, by nature, equal in rank. No man is privileged above another to have a wife; and therefore polygamy is contradictory to the plan of Providence. Were ten women born for one man, as is erroneously reported to be the case in Bantam, polygamy might be the intention of Providence; but from the equality of males and females, it is clearly the voice of nature, as well as of the sacred Scripture, "That a man shall leave his father and mother and cleave to his wife; and they shall be one flesh."

However plausible polygamy may appear in the present state of things, where inequality of rank and fortune have produced luxury and sensuality, yet the laws of nature were not contrived by our Maker for a forced state, where numberless individuals

dividuals are degraded below their natural rank, for the benefit of a few, who are elevated above it. To form a just notion of polygamy, we must look back to the original state of man, where all are equal. In that state, every man cannot have two wives; and consequently no man is entitled to more than one, till every other be upon an equal footing with him. At the same time, the union of one man with one woman is much better calculated for continuing the race than the union of one man with many women. Think of a savage, who may have fifty or sixty children by different wives, all depending for food upon his industry. Chance must turn out much in his favour, if the half of them perish not by hunger. How much a better chance for life have infants, who are distributed more equally in different families?

Polygamy has an effect still more pernicious, with respect to children even of the most opulent families. Unless affection be reciprocal and equal, there can be no proper society in the matrimonial state, no cordiality, nor due care of offspring. But such affection is inconsistent with polygamy. A woman, in that state, far from being a companion to her husband, is degraded to the rank of a servant, a mere instrument of pleasure and propagation. Among many wives there will always be a favourite. The rest turn peevish; and if they resent not the injury against their husband, and against
their

their children as belonging to him, they will at least be disheartened, and turn negligent of them. At the same time, fondness for the favourite wife and her children, makes the husband indifferent about the rest; and woeful is the condition of children, who are neglected by both parents. To produce such an effect, is certainly not the purpose of nature.

It merits peculiar attention, that Providence has provided for an agreeable union, among all creatures who are taught by nature to pair. Animal love, among creatures who pair not, is confined within a narrow space of time. While the dam is occupied about her young, animal love lies dormant, that she may not be abstracted from her duty. In pairing animals, on the contrary, animal love is always awake. Among the wild birds, that build on trees, the male, after feeding her mate in the nest, plants himself upon the next spray, and cheers her with a song*.

There is still greater enjoyment provided for the human race in the matrimonial state, and stronger incitements to constancy. Sweet is the society of a pair fitted for each other, in whom are collected

* A canary bird, singing to his mate on her nest in a breeding-cage, fell down dead. The female alarmed, left her nest, and pecked at him; but finding him immoveable, she refused nourishment, and died at his side.

the affections of husband, wife, lover, friend, the tenderest affections of human nature. Public government is in perfection, when the sovereign commands with humanity, and the subjects are cordial in their obedience. Private government in conjugal society arrives at still greater perfection, where husband and wife govern, and are governed reciprocally, with entire satisfaction to both. The man bears rule over his wife's person and conduct; she bears rule over his inclinations. He governs by law; she by persuasion.

“ The empire of a woman,” says a celebrated writer, “ is an empire of softness, of address, of complacency. Her commands are caresses; her menaces are tears. She ought to reign in the family, like a minister in the state, by making that which is her inclination be enjoined to her as her duty. Thus it is evident, that the best domestic œconomy is that, where the wife has most authority. But when she is insensible to the voice of her chief, when she tries to usurp his prerogative, and to command alone, what can result from such disorder, but misery, scandal, and dishonour?”

The Empress Livia being questioned by a married woman, how she had obtained such an ascendancy over her husband Augustus, answered,—“ By being obedient to his commands,—by not wishing to

to know his secrets,—and by hiding my knowledge of his amours.”

The late Queen of Spain was a woman of singular prudence, and of solid judgment. A character of her, published after her death, contains the following passage:—“ She had a great ascendancy over the King, founded on his persuasion of her superior sense, which she showed in a perfect submission to his commands; the more easily obeyed, as they were commonly, though to him imperceptibly, *dictated by herself*. She cured him of many foibles; and, in a word, was his Minerva, under the appearance of Mentor.”

The chief sources of polygamy are—savage manners,—and voluptuousness in warm climates, which instigates men of wealth to transgress every rule of temperance.

Strength and boldness are the only qualities which savages value. In these, females are very deficient, and, therefore, are despised by the males, as beings of an inferior order.

The North-American tribes glory in idleness. The drudgery of labour degrades a man in their opinion, and is proper for women only. To join young persons in marriage is, accordingly, the business of parents; and it would be unpardonable meanness in the bridegroom, to shew any fondness for the bride. Young men are admitted into society with their seniors, at the age of eighteen; after

after which it is disgraceful to keep company with women.

In Guiana, a woman never eats with her husband ; but, after every meal, she attends him with water for washing.

In the Carribbee islands, wives are not even permitted to eat in the presence of their husbands ; and yet we are assured, that women there obey with such sweetness and respect, as never to give their husbands occasion to remind them of their duty. —“ An example,” adds our author*, “ worthy the imitation of Christian wives, who are daily instructed from the pulpit, in the duties of obedience and conjugal fidelity, *but to very little purpose.*”

Dampier observes in general, that, among all the wild nations he was acquainted with, the women carry the burdens, while the men walk before, and carry nothing but their arms. Women, even of the highest rank, are not better treated. The sovereign of Giaga, in Africa, has many wives, who are literally slaves. One carries his bow, one his arrow ; and one gives him drink ; and while he is drinking, they all fall on their knees, clap their hands, and sing.

In Siberia, and even in Russia, the capital excepted, men treat their wives in every respect as slaves. The regulations of Peter I. put marriage
upon

* Labat's voyages.

upon a more respectable footing, among people of rank ; and yet such are the brutal manners of the Russians, that tyrannical treatment of wives is far from being eradicated.

Thus the low condition of the female sex, among savages and barbarians, paved the way to polygamy. Excited by a taste for variety, and still more by pride, which is gratified by many servants, they delighted in a multiplicity of wives.

The custom of purchasing wives is intimately connected with polygamy. A woman, purchased as a wife, has no just cause for complaining, that others are purchased as she was. This practice, and, by consequence, polygamy was prevalent among the Jews. Sechem, demanding in marriage Dinah, Jacob's daughter, said, " Ask me ever so much dowry and gift, and I will give according as ye shall say unto me : But give me the damsel to wife." To David demanding Saul's daughter in marriage, Saul said, " The king desireth not any dowry, but an hundred foreskins of the Philistines." Jacob, having nothing else to give, served Laban fourteen years for two wives.

The ancient Spaniards purchased their wives. We have the authority of Herodotus, that the Thracians followed the same practice. The latter adds, that if a wife was ill treated, her relations could

could demand her back, upon repaying the price they got for her.

The Babylonians and the Assyrians, at stated times, collected all the marriageable young women, and disposed of them by auction.

Rubruguis, in his voyage to Tartary, reports, that there every man bought his wife. " They believe," he adds, " that their wives serve them in another world as they do in this; for which reason a widow has no chance for a second husband, whom she cannot serve in another world."

Olaus Magnus, remarking that among the ancient Goths no dower was provided on the bride's part, gives a reason, better suited perhaps to the time he lived in, than to what he describes. " Among the Goths," says he, " a man gave a dowry for his bride, instead of receiving one with her; to prevent pride and insolence, which commonly accompany riches on the woman's part." As if the hazard of petulance in a wife would hinder a man to accept a dower with her:—a sad doctrine for an *heirefs*.

By the laws of King Ethelbert, a man, who committed adultery with his neighbour's wife, was obliged to pay him a fine, and to buy him another wife.

Giraldus Cambrensis, in his description of Wales, says, that there, men purchased their

wives, with liberty to return them, if they proved not agreeable. The bride's parents retained the dowry, and her chance for a husband was as good as ever.

Among barbarous nations, such as the Tartars, the Samoides, the Ostiaks, as well as the inhabitants of Pegu, Sumatra, and the Molucca islands, the practice of purchasing their wives still continues.

In Timor, an East-Indian island, men sell even their children to purchase more wives.

Among the Caribbees, there is one instance where a man gets a wife, without paying for her. After a successful war, the victors are entertained at a feast, when the General harangues on the valour of the young men, who made the best figure. Every man, who has marriageable daughters, is eager to offer them to such young men, without any price.

Opulence, in a hot climate, is the other cause of polygamy. Men, so circumstanced, will purchase wives, rather than be confined to one. And purchase they must; for no man, without a valuable consideration, will surrender his daughter to be one of many who are destined to gratify the carnal appetite of a single man. The numerous wives and concubines in Asiatic harems are all purchased with money. In the hot climate of

Hindostan polygamy is universal, and men buy their wives. The same obtains in China. After the price is adjusted and paid, the bride is conducted to the bridegroom's house, locked in a sedan, and the key delivered to him. If he be not satisfied with his bargain, he sends her back, at the expence of losing the sum he paid for her. If satisfied, *he* feasts his male friends in one room, and *she* her female friends in another. A man, who has little substance, takes a wife for his son from an hospital, which saves him a dowry.

It has been pleaded for polygamy in warm climates, that women have no children after the age of twenty-five, while men are yet in the prime of life; and therefore that a second wife ought to be permitted, who can have children. Are women then to be laid aside as useless, when they cease to have children? In the hottest climates, a woman may be the mother of ten or twelve children; and are not both parents usefully employed in rearing such a number, and fitting them to do for themselves? After this important task is performed, is not the woman well entitled, for the remainder of life, to enjoy the conjugal society of a man to whom she dedicated the flower of her youth?

The argument for polygamy might indeed be conclusive, were a greater number of females born than of males. But as an equality of males and

females is the invariable rule of Nature, the argument has no force. All men are born equal by nature ; and to permit polygamy, in any degree, is to authorize some to usurp the privilege of others.

As polygamy is a forced state, contradictory to nature, locks and bars are the only sure means for restraining a number of women confined to one husband. When the King of Persia, with his wives, removes from Ispahan to any of his villas, the hour of his departure, and the street through which he is to pass, are proclaimed three days before, in order that every man may keep out of the way.

In contradiction to the climate, Christianity has banished polygamy from Ethiopia, though the judges are far from being severe upon that crime. The heat of the climate makes them wish to indulge in a plurality of wives, even at the expence of purchasing each of them. Among the Christians of Congo polygamy is in use, as formerly when they were Pagans. To be confined to one wife is held, by the most zealous Christians there, to be altogether irrational. Rather than be so confined, they would renounce Christianity.

The Chinese are so jealous of their wives, as even to lock them up from their relations ; and, so great is their diffidence of the female sex in general, that brothers and sisters are not permitted to converse

converse together. When women go abroad, they are shut up in a close sedan, into which no eye can penetrate. The intrigues carried on by the wives of the Chinese Emperor, and the jealousy that reigns among them, render them unhappy. But luckily, as women are little regarded, where polygamy is indulged, their ambition and intrigues give less disturbance to the government, than in the courts of European princes.

The ladies of Hindostan cover their heads with a gauze veil, even at home, which they lay not aside, except in the company of their nearest relations. A Hindoo buys his wife; and the first time he is permitted to see her without a veil is after marriage in his own house.

In several hot countries, women are put under the guard of eunuchs, as an additional security; and black eunuchs are commonly preferred for their ugliness. But, as a woman, deprived of the society of men, is apt to be inflamed even with the appearance of a man, some jealous nations, refining upon that circumstance, employ old maids, termed *duennas*, for guarding their women. In the city of Moka, in Arabia Felix, women of fashion never appear in the streets in day light; but it is a proof of manners, refined above those in neighbouring countries, that they are permitted to visit one another in the evening. If they find men

in their way, they draw aside to let them pass. A French surgeon being called by one of the King of Yeman's chief officers, to cure a rheumatism, which had seized two of his wives, was permitted to handle the parts affected; but he could not get a sight of their faces.

C H A P. XXXIX.

ON THE EDUCATION OF ASIATIC WOMEN.

IN the warm regions of Asia, where polygamy is indulged, the education of young women is extremely loose, being intended solely for animal pleasure. They are accomplished in such graces and allurements, as tend to inflame the sensual appetite. They are taught vocal and instrumental music, with various dances that cannot stand the test of decency. But no culture is bestowed on the mind,—no moral instruction,—no improvement of the rational faculties;—because such education as qualifies them for being virtuous companions to men of sense, would inspire them with abhorrence at the being made prostitutes. In a word, so corrupted are they by vicious education, as to be unfit objects of any desire, but what is merely sensual.

Asiatic wives are not trusted even with the management

nagement of household affairs, which would afford opportunities of infidelity.

In Persia, says Chardin, the ladies are not permitted, more than children, to choose a gown for themselves. No lady knows in the morning what she is to wear that day.

The education of young women in Hindostan is considerably different. They are not taught music nor dancing, which are reckoned fit only for ladies of pleasure. They are taught all the graces of external behaviour, particularly to converse with spirit and elegance. They are taught also to sew, to embroider, and to dress with taste. Writing is neglected; but they are taught to read, that they may have the consolation of studying the Alcoran; which they never open, nor could understand if they did.

Notwithstanding such care in educating Hindostan females, their confinement in a seraglio renders their manners extremely loose. The most refined luxury of sense, with idleness, or with reading love-tales still worse than idleness, cannot fail to vitiate the minds of persons deprived of liberty, and to prepare them for every sort of intemperance.

The wives and concubines of grandees in Constantinople are permitted sometimes to walk abroad for air and exercise. A foreigner stumbling acci-

dentally on a knot of them, about forty in number, attended with black eunuchs, was, in the twinkling of an eye, seized by a brisk girl, with the rest at her heels, who all accosted him with loose expressions. An old Janissary, standing at a little distance, was amazed. His Mahometan bashfulness would not suffer him to lay hands upon women ; but, with a Stentorian voice, he roared to the black eunuchs, that they were guardians of prostitutes, not of modest women ; urging them to free the man from such harpies.

C H A P. XL.

ON MARRIAGE CEREMONIES.

MARRIAGE-ceremonies vary in different countries, and at different times. Where the practice is to purchase a wife, whether among savages, or among pampered people in hot climates, payment of the price completes the marriage, without any other ceremony. Other ceremonies, however, are sometimes practised. In old Rome, the bride was attended to the bridegroom's house with a female slave, carrying a distaff and a spindle, importing that she ought to spin for the family. Among the savages of Canada, and of the neighbouring countries, a strap, a kettle, and a faggot, are

are put in the bride's cabin, as symbols of her duty, viz. to carry burdens, to dress victuals, and to provide wood. On the other hand, the bride, in token of her slavery, takes her axe, cuts wood, bundles it up, and lays it before the door of the bridegroom's hut. All the salutation she receives is, " It is time to go to rest."

The inhabitants of Sierra Leona, a negro country, have in all their towns a boarding-school, where young ladies are educated for a year, under the care of a venerable old gentleman. When their education is completed, they are carried in their best attire to a public assembly ; which may be termed a matrimonial market, because there young men convene to make choice. Those, who fit themselves to their fancy, pay the dowry ; and, over and above, gratify the old superintendant for his extraordinary care in educating the bride.

In the island of Java, the bride, in token of subjection, washes the bridegroom's feet ; and this is a capital ceremony.

In Russia, the bride presents to the bridegroom a bundle of rods, to be used against her when she deserves to be chastised ; and at the same time she pulls off his boots. The present empress, intent upon reforming the rude manners of her subjects, has discountenanced that ceremony among people of fashion.

Very different were the manners of Peru, before the Spanish conquest. The bridegroom carried shoes to the bride, and put them on with his own hands. But there, purchasing of wives was unknown. Marriage ceremonies in Lapland are directed by the same principle. It is customary there for a man to make presents to his children of rein-deer; and young women, who have a large stock of these animals, have lovers in plenty. A young man looks for such a wife at a fair, or at a meeting for paying taxes. He takes to the house of the young woman's parents some of his relations; being solicitous in particular to have an eloquent speaker. They are all admitted, except the lover, who must wait till he be called in. After drinking some spirits, the spokesman addresses the father in humble terms, bowing the knee, as if he were introduced to a prince.

C H A P. XLI.

ON FEMALE SUCCESSION.

THE gradual advance of the female sex to an equality with the male sex, is visible in the laws of female succession that have been established at different times, and in different countries. It is not probable that, in any country, women were early admitted to inherit land. They are too much despised among savages, for so valuable a privilege. The fierceness and brutality of the ancient Romans, in particular, unqualified the women to be their companions. It never entered their thoughts, that women should inherit land, which they cannot defend by the sword. But women came to be regarded, in proportion as the national manners refined. The law, prohibiting female succession in land, established in days of rusticity, was held to be rigorous and unjust, when the Romans were more polished.

The barbarous nations, who crushed the Roman power, were not late in adopting the mild manners of the conquered. They admitted women to inherit land, and they exacted a double composition for injuries done to them.

By the Salic law among the Franks, women were expressly prohibited to inherit land. But

this prohibition was in time eluded, by the following solemnity. The man, who wanted to put his daughter upon a footing with his sons, carried her before the commissary, saying, " My dear child, an ancient and impious custom bars a young woman from succeeding to her father : but, as all my children, are equally given me by God, I ought to love them equally ; therefore, my dear child, my will is that my effects be divided equally between you and your brethren."

In polished states women are not excluded from succeeding even to the crown. Russia and Britain afford examples of women capable to govern, in an absolute, as well as in a limited monarchy.

Among the Hurons in North America, where the regal dignity is hereditary, and great regard paid to the royal family, the succession is continued through females, in order to preserve the royal blood untainted. When the chief dies, his son does not succeed, but his sister's son ; who certainly is of the royal blood, whoever be the father. And, when the royal family is at an end, a chief is elected by the noblest matron of the tribe.

The same rule of succession obtains among the Natches, a people bordering on the Mississippi ; it being an article of their creed, " That their royal family are children of the sun."

On the same belief was founded a law in Peru, appointing the heir of the crown to marry his sister ;

ter; which, equally with the law mentioned, preserved the blood of the sun in the royal family.

Female succession depends, in some degree, on the nature of the government. In Holland, all the children, male and female, succeed equally. The Hollanders live by commerce, which women are capable of as well as men. Land, at the same time is so scanty in that country, as to render it impracticable to raise a family, by engrossing a great estate in land; and there is nothing but the ambition of raising a family, that can move a man to prefer one of his children before the rest. The same law obtains in Hamburgh, for the same reasons.

Extensive estates in land support great families in Britain, a circumstance unfavourable to younger children. But probably in London, and in other great trading towns, mercantile men provide against the law, by making a more equal distribution of their effects among their children.

Upon a review of the history of the fair sex, would not one be apt to conclude, that originally females were every where despised, as they are at present among the savages of America;—that wives, like slaves, were procured by barter;—and that polygamy was universal. The northern nations of Europe, however, must be excepted from these conclusions. Among them, women were from the beginning courted and honoured, nor was polygamy ever known among them.

C H A P. XLII.

CURIOUS INSTANCES OF FALSE REASONING.

WHEN we consider the many causes that mislead from just reasoning, in days especially of ignorance; the erroneous and absurd opinions that have prevailed, and still continue, in some measure, to prevail in the world, are far from being surprising.

Were reason our only guide in the conduct of life, we should have cause to complain; but our Maker has provided us with the moral sense, a guide little subject to error in matters of importance.

To exemplify erroneous and absurd reasonings of every sort, would be endless. Let the following amusing instances, therefore, suffice.

Plato, taking it for granted, "That every being which moves itself must have a soul," concludes that the world must have a soul, because it moves itself.

Appion ridicules the Jews for adhering literally to the precept of resting on their sabbath, so as to suffer Jerusalem to be taken that day by Ptolemy son of Lagus. Mark the answer of Josephus. "Whoever passes a sober judgment on this matter, will find our practice agreeable to honour and virtue; for what can be more honourable and virtuous,

tuous, than to postpone our country, and even life itself, to the service of God, and of his holy religion?" A strange idea of religion, to put it in direct opposition to every moral principle!

A superstitious and absurd doctrine, "that God will interpose by a miracle to declare what is right, in every controversy, has occasioned much erroneous reasoning, and absurd practice. The practice of determining controversies, by single combat, commenced about the seventh century, when religion had degenerated into superstition, and courage was esteemed the only moral virtue. The parliament of Paris, in the reign of Charles VI. appointed a single combat, in order to have the judgment of Heaven, whether the one had committed a rape with the other's wife.

The trials by water, and by fire, rest on the same erroneous foundation. In the former, if the person accused sunk to the bottom, it was a judgment pronounced by God, that he was innocent. If he kept above, it was a judgment that he was guilty. Fleury remarks, that if ever the person accused was found guilty, it was his own fault.

In Sicily, a woman accused of adultery, was compelled to swear to her innocence. The oath, taken down in writing, was laid on water; and if it did not sink, the woman was innocent. We find the same practice in Japan, and in Malabar.

One

One of the articles insisted on by the reformers in Scotland, was, " that public prayers be made, and the sacraments administered in the vulgar tongue." The answer of a provincial council was in the following words: " That to conceive public prayers, or administer the sacraments in any language but Latin, is contrary to the traditions and practice of the Catholic church, for many ages past; and that the demand cannot be granted, without impiety to God, and disobedience to the church." Here it is taken for granted, that the practice of the church is always right; which is building an argument on a very rotten foundation.

The Caribbeans abstain from eating turtle, which they think would infect them with the laziness and stupidity of that animal. Upon the same erroneous notion, the Brasilians abstain from the flesh of ducks and of every creature that moves slowly.

It is observed of northern nations, that they do not open the mouth sufficiently for distinct articulation; and the reason given is, " that the coldness of the air makes them keep the mouth as close as possible." People inured to a cold climate are as little affected by cold in the mouth, as in any other part of the body. The real cause is, that northern tongues abound with consonants which admit but a small aperture of the mouth.

A talent

A talent for writing seems in Germany to be estimated by weight, as beauty is said to be in Holland. Cocceius, for writing three weighty folio volumes on law, has obtained among his countrymen the epithet of *Great*. This author, handling the rules of succession in land-estates, has, with most profound erudition, founded all of them upon the following very simple proposition. In a competition, that descendant is entitled to be preferred, who has the greatest quantity of the predecessor's blood in his veins. Has a man any of his predecessor's blood in his veins, otherwise than metaphorically? Simple indeed! to build an argument in law upon a pure metaphor.

To convince the the world of the truth of the four gospels, Ireneus urges the following arguments, which he calls demonstration. " There are four quarters of the world, and four cardinal winds, consequently there are four gospels in the church, as there are four pillars that support it, and four breaths of life that render it immortal." Again, " There have been four covenants; the first under Adam, the second under Noah, the third under Moses, the fourth under Jesus Christ."

St. Cyprian, in his exhortation to martyrdom, after having applied the mysterious number seven, to the seven days of the creation, to the seven thousand years of the world's duration, to the seven
spirits

spirits that stand before God, to the seven lamps of the tabernacle, to the seven candlesticks of the Apocalypse, to the seven pillars of wisdom, to the seven children of the barren woman, to the seven women, who took one man for their husband, to the seven brothers of the Maccabees,—observes, that St. Paul mentions that number as a privileged number; which, says he, is the reason why he did not write but to seven churches.

Josephus, in his answer to Appion, urges the following argument for the temple of Jerusalem: “As there is but one God, and one world, it holds by analogy, that there should be but one temple.” At that rate, there should be but one worshipper. And why should that one temple be at Jerusalem, rather than at Rome, or at Pekin?

The Syrians and Greeks did not for a long time eat fish. Two reasons are assigned. One is, that fish is not sacrificed to the Gods; the other, that being immersed in the sea, they look not up to heaven. The first would afford a more plausible argument for eating fish. And, if the other have any weight, it would be an argument for sacrificing men, and neither fish nor cattle.

In justification of the Salic law, which prohibits female succession, it was long held a conclusive argument, “That in the Scripture, the *lilies* are said neither to work nor to spin.”

Peter

Peter Hantz of Horn, who lived in the last century, imagined that Noah's ark is the true construction of a ship; "which," said he, "is the workmanship of God, and therefore perfect;"—as if a vessel, made only for floating on the water, were the best also for sailing.

The Spaniards, who laid waste a great part of the West Indies, endeavoured to excuse their cruelties, by maintaining, that the natives were not men, but a species of the Ouran Outang; for no better reason, than that they were of a copper colour, spoke an unknown language, and had no beard.

In 1440, the Portuguese solicited the Pope's permission to double the Cape of Good Hope, and to reduce to perpetual servitude the negroes, because they had the colour of the damned, and never went to church.

In the Frederician Code, a proposition is laid down, "that by the law of nature, no man can make a testament." And in support of that proposition the following argument is urged, which is said to be a demonstration: "No deed can be a testament while a man is alive, because it is not necessarily his *last will*; and no man can make a testament after his death." Both premises are true, but the negative conclusion does not follow. It is true a man's deed is not his *last will*, while he

is alive. But does it not become his last will, when he dies without altering the deed?

The Roman Catholics began with beheading heretics, hanging them, or stoning them to death. But such punishments were discovered to be too slight, in matters of faith. It was demonstrated that heretics ought to be burnt in a slow fire. It being taken for granted, that God punishes them in the other world with a slow fire; it was inferred, "That as every prince and every magistrate is the image of God in this world, they ought to follow his example." Here is a double error in reasoning;—first, the taking for granted the fundamental proposition, which is surely not self-evident; and next, the drawing a conclusion from it, without any connection.

Huetius, Bishop of Auvranches, declaiming against the vanity of establishing a perpetual succession of descendants, observes, that other writers had exposed it upon moral principles, but that he would cut it down with a plain metaphysical argument. "Father and son are relative ideas; and the relation is at an end by the death of either. My will therefore to leave my estate to my son is absurd; because after my death, he is no longer my son." By the same sort of argument he demonstrates the vanity of fame. "The relation that subsists between a man and his character, is at

an end by his death; and therefore, the character given him by the world, belongs not to him nor to any person." Huetius is not the only writer, who has urged metaphysical arguments contrary to common sense.

It was once a general opinion among those who dwelt near the sea, that people never die but during the ebb of the tide. And there were not wanting plausible reasons. The sea, in flowing, carries with it vivifying particles that recruit the sick. The sea is salt, and salt preserves from rottenness. When the sea sinks in ebbing, every thing sinks with it. Nature languishes, the sick are not vivified. They die.

The Jews enjoyed the reputation, for several centuries, of being skilful physicians. Francis I. of France, having long laboured under a disease that eluded the art of his own physicians, applied to the Emperor Charles V. for a Jewish physician from Spain. Finding that the person sent had been converted to Christianity, the King refused to employ him; as if a Jew were to lose his skill, upon being converted to Christianity. Why did not the King order one of his own physicians to be converted to Judaism?

In reasoning, instances are not rare, of mistaking the cause for the effect, and the effect for the cause. When a stone is thrown from the hand, the continuance

tinuance of its motion in the air, was once universally accounted for as follows:—"That the air follows the stone at the heels, and pushes it on." The effect here is mistaken for the cause. The air indeed follows the stone at the heels; but it only fills the vacuity made by the stone, and does not push it on.

It has been slyly urged against the art of physic, that physicians are rare among temperate people, who have no wants but those of nature; and that where physicians abound, diseases abound. This is mistaking the cause for the effect, and the effect for the cause. People in health have no occasion for a physician; but indolence and luxury beget diseases, and diseases beget physicians.

In accounting for natural appearances, even good writers have betrayed a weakness in reasoning. Descartes ascribes the motion of the planets to a vortex of ether whirling round and round. He thought not of enquiring, whether there really be such a vortex, nor what makes it move.

M. Buffon forms the earth out of a splinter of the sun, struck off by a comet. May not one be permitted humbly to enquire of that eminent philosopher, what formed the comet? This passes for solid reasoning; and yet we laugh at the poor Indian, who supports the earth from falling by an elephant, and the elephant by a tortoise.

Ancient

Ancient histories are full of incredible facts, that passed current, during the infancy of reason, which at present would be rejected with contempt. Every one, who is conversant in the history of ancient nations, can recall instances without end. Does any person believe at present, though gravely reported by historians, that in old Rome there was a law, for cutting into pieces the body of a bankrupt, and distributing the parts among his creditors? The story of Porfenna and Scevola is highly romantic; and there is little reason to believe, there ever was such a state as that of the Amazons.

Aburd conclusions have been deduced from prohibitions taken literally, against common sense. Lord Clarendon gives two instances; both of them relative to the great fire of London. The mayor proposing to pull down a house, in order to stop the progress of the fire, was opposed by the lawyers, who declared the act to be unlawful; and the house was burnt without being pulled down. About the same time, it was proposed to break open some houses in the Temple for saving the furniture, the possessors being in the country; but it was declared burglary to force open a door without consent of the possessor.

Such literal interpretation, contrary to common sense, has been extended even to inflict punishment. Isadas was bathing, when the alarm was

given in Lacedæmon, that Epaminondas was at hand with a numerous army. Naked as he was, he rushed against the enemy with a spear in one hand, and a sword in the other, bearing down all before him. The Ephori fined him for going to battle unarmed ; but honoured him with a garland for his gallant behaviour. How absurd to think, that the law was intended for such a case ! And how much more absurd to think, that the same act ought to be both punished and rewarded !

It is a salutary regulation, that a man who is absent cannot be tried for his life. Pope Formosus died suddenly, without suffering any punishment for his crimes. He was raised from his grave, dressed in his pontifical habit ; and in that shape a criminal process went on against him. Could it seriously be thought, that a rotten carcase, brought into court, was sufficient to fulfil the law ? The same absurd farce was played in Scotland, upon the body of Logan of Restalrig, several years after his interment. The body of Tancred, King of Sicily, was raised from the grave, and the head cut off for supposed rebellion. Henry IV. of Castile, was deposed in absence ; but, for a colour of justice, the following ridiculous scene was acted. A wooden statue, dressed in a royal habit, was placed on a theatre ; and the sentence of deposition was solemnly read to it, as if it had been the King himself. The Archbishop of Toledo
seized

seized the crown, another the sceptre, a third the sword, and the ceremony was concluded, with proclaiming another king.

C H A P. XLIII.

ON THE ANTICIPATION OF FUTURITY.

NO bias in human nature is more prevalent, than a desire to anticipate futurity, by being made acquainted beforehand with what will happen. It was indulged without reserve in dark times ; and hence omens, auguries, dreams, judicial astrology, oracles, and prophecies, without end. It shows strange weakness not to see, that such fore-knowledge would be a gift more pernicious to man, than Pandora's box. It would deprive him of every motive to action ; and leave no place for sagacity, nor for contriving means to bring about a desired event. Life is an enchanted castle, opening to interesting views that inflame the imagination, and excite industry.—Remove the veil that hides futurity—To an active, bustling, animating scene, succeeds a dead stupor, men converted into statues,—passive, like inert matter, because there remains not a single motive to action. Anxiety about futurity rouses our sagacity to prepare for what may happen ; but an appetite to know, what sagacity cannot discover, is a weakness in nature, inconsistent with every rational principle.

C H A P. XLIV.

ON OUR PROPENSITY TO THE BELIEF OF THE
MARVELOUS.

PROPENSITY to things rare and wonderful, is a natural bias no less universal than the former. Any strange or unaccountable event rouses the attention, and inflames the mind. We suck it in greedily, wish it to be true, and believe it upon the slightest evidence.

A hart taken in the forest of Senlis by Charles VI. of France, bore a collar upon which was inscribed “*Cæsar hoc me donavit.*” *Cæsar gave me this.* Every one believed that a Roman Emperor was meant, and that the beast must have lived at least a thousand years; overlooking that the Emperor of Germany is also styled *Cæsar*, and that it was not necessary to go back fifty years.

This propensity displays itself even in childhood. Stories of ghosts and apparitions are anxiously listened to, and by the terror they occasion, firmly believed. The vulgar, accordingly, have been captivated with such stories, upon evidence that would not be sufficient to ascertain the simplest fact. The absurd and childish prodigies that are every where scattered through the history of Titus Livius, not to mention other ancient historians, would be unaccountable in a writer of sense and gravity, were it not for the propensity mentioned.

But

But human belief is not left at the mercy of every irregular bias. Our Maker has subjected belief to the subjection of the rational faculty; and accordingly, in proportion as reason advances towards maturity, wonders, prodigies, apparitions, incantations, witchcraft, and such stuff, lose their influence. That reformation, however, has been exceedingly slow, because the propensity is very strong. Such absurdities found credit among wise men, even as late as the last age.

The Earl of Clarendon gravely relates an incident concerning the assassination of the Duke of Buckingham, the sum of which follows. "There were many stories scattered abroad at that time, of prophecies and predictions of the Duke's untimely and violent death; one of which was upon a better foundation of credit, than such discourses are usually founded upon. There was an officer in the King's wardrobe in Windsor castle, of reputation for honesty and discretion, and at that time about the age of fifty. About six months before the miserable end of the Duke, this man being in bed and in good health, there appeared to him at midnight a man of a venerable aspect, who drawing the curtains, and fixing his eye upon him, said, "Doyouknowme, Sir?" The poor man, half dead with fear, answered, that he thought him to be Sir George Villiers, father to the Duke. Upon which he was ordered by the apparition, to go to

the Duke and tell him, that if he did not somewhat to ingratiate himself with the people, he would be suffered to live but a short time. The same person appeared to him a second and a third time, reproaching him bitterly for not performing his promise. The poor man pluck'd up as much courage as to excuse himself, that it was difficult to find access to the Duke, and that he would be thought a madman. The apparition imparted to him some secrets, which he said would be his credentials to the Duke. The officer, introduced to the Duke by Sir Ralph Freeman, was received courteously. They walked together near an hour ; and the Duke sometimes spoke with great commotion, though his servants with Sir Ralph were at such a distance, that they could not hear a word. The officer, returning from the Duke, told Sir Ralph, that when he mentioned the particulars that were to gain him credit, the Duke's colour changed ; and he swore the officer could come to that knowledge only by the devil ; for that these particulars were known only to himself, and to one person more, of whose fidelity he was secure. The Duke, who went to accompany the King at hunting, was observed to ride, all the the morning, in deep thought ; and before the morning was spent, left the field and alighted at his mother's house, with whom he was shut up for two or three hours. When the Duke left her, his countenance appeared full of trouble, with a
mixture

mixture of anger, which never appeared before in conversing with her; and she was found overwhelmed with tears, and in great agony. Whatever there was of all this, it is a notorious truth, that when she heard of the Duke's murder, she seemed not in the least surpris'd, nor did she express much sorrow."

The name of Lord Clarendon calls for more attention to the foregoing relation than otherwise it would deserve. It is no article of the Christian faith, that the dead preserve their connection with the living, or are ever suffered to return to this world. We have no solid evidence for such a fact; and rarely hear of it, except in tales for amusing or terrifying children. Secondly, The story is inconsistent with the system of Providence; which, for the best purposes, has drawn an impenetrable veil between us and futurity. Thirdly, This apparition, though supposed to be endowed with a miraculous knowledge of future events, is, however, deficient in the sagacity that belongs to a person of ordinary understanding. It appears twice to the officer without thinking of giving him proper credentials; nor does it think of them till suggested by the officer. Fourthly, Why did not the apparition go directly to the Duke himself; what necessity for employing a third person? The Duke must have been much more affected with an apparition to himself, than with the hearing it at second hand. The

officer was afraid of being taken for a madman; and the Duke had some reason to think him such. Lastly, The apparition happened above three months before the Duke's death; and yet we hear not of a single step taken by him, in pursuance of the advice he got.

The authority of the writer, and the regard we owe to him, have drawn from me, says Lord Kaimes, the foregoing reflections, which with respect to the story itself are very little necessary; for the evidence is really not such as to verify an ordinary occurrence. His Lordship acknowledges, that he had no evidence but common report, saying, that it was one of the many stories scattered abroad at that time. He does not say, that the story was related to him by the officer, whose name he does not even mention, or by Sir Ralph Freeman, or by the Duke, or by the Duke's mother. If any thing happened like what is related, it may with good reason be supposed that the officer was crazy, or enthusiastically mad. Nor have we any evidence beyond common report, that he communicated any secret to the Duke.

C H A P. XLV.

ON THE TENDENCY OF THE HUMAN MIND TO
MYSTERIES AND HIDDEN MEANINGS.

ANOTHER source of erroneous reasoning, is a singular tendency in the mind of man to mysteries and hidden meanings. Where an object makes a deep impression, the busy mind is seldom satisfied with the simple and obvious meaning. Invention is roused to allegorize, and to pierce into hidden views and purposes. Religious forms and ceremonies, however arbitrary, are never held to be so. If an useful purpose do not appear, it is taken for granted that there must be an hidden meaning; and any meaning, however childish, will serve, when a better cannot be found. Such propensity there is in dark ages for allegorizing, that even our Saviour's miracles have not escaped.

“ Sacrifice to the cœlestial gods with an odd number, and to the terrestrial gods with an even number,” is a precept of Pythagoras. Another is, “ Turn round in adoring the gods, and sit down when thou hast worshipped.” The learned make a strange pother about the hidden meaning of these precepts. But, after all, have they any hidden meaning? Forms and ceremonies are useful in external worship, for occupying the mind; and it is of no importance what they be, provided they pre-

vent the mind from wandering. Why such partiality to ancient ceremonies, when no hidden meaning is supposed in those of Christians, such as bowing to the east, or the priest performing the liturgy, partly in a black upper garment, partly in a white ?

No ideas are more simple than of numbers, nor less susceptible of any hidden meaning ; and yet the profound Pythagoras has imagined many such meanings. The number *one*, says he, having no parts, represents the Deity. It represents also order, peace, and tranquillity, which result from unity of sentiment. The number *two* represents disorder, confusion, and change. He discovered in the number *three* the most sublime mysteries. All things are composed, says he, of three substances. The number *four* is holy in its nature, and constitutes the divine essence which consists in unity, power, benevolence, and wisdom. Would one believe, that the great philosopher, who demonstrated the forty-seventh proposition of the first book of Euclid, was the inventor of such wild conceits ? Perhaps Pythagoras only meant to divert himself with them. Whether he did so or not, it seems difficult to be explained, how such trifles were preserved in memory, and handed down to us through so many generations. All that can be said is, that during the infancy of knowledge, every novelty makes a figure,

figure, and it requires a long course of time to separate the corn from the chaff.

The following precepts of the same philosopher, though now only fit for the *Child's Guide*, were originally cherished and preserved in memory as emanations of superior wisdom. "Do not enter a temple for worship but with a decent air. Render not life painful, by undertaking too many affairs. Be always ready for what may happen. Never bind yourself by a vow nor by an oath. Irritate not a man who is angry."

The seven wise men of Greece made a figure in their time; but it would be unreasonable to expect, that what they taught during the infancy of knowledge, should make a figure in its maturity.

A certain writer, smitten with the conceit of hidden meanings, has applied his talent to the constellations of the zodiac. The *lion* typifies the force or heat of the sun, in the month of July, when he enters that constellation. The constellation, where the sun is, in the month of August, is termed the *virgin*, signifying the time of harvest. He enters the *balance* in September, denoting the equality of day and night. The *scorpion*, where he is found in October, is an emblem of the diseases that are frequent during that month. The *balance*, it must be acknowledged, is well hit off; but the resemblance of the force of the lion to the heat of

the sun, is not so clearly seen, and still less that of harvest to a virgin. The spring would be more happily represented by a virgin, and the harvest by a woman that is pregnant.

Our tendency to mystery and allegory displays itself with greater vigour, in thinking of our forefathers, and of the ancients in general, by means of the veneration that is paid them. Before writing was known, ancient history is made up of traditional fables. A Trojan Brutus peopled England; and the Scots are descended from Scota, daughter to an Egyptian king. Have we not equally reason to think, that the histories of the heathen Gods are involved in fable? We pretend not to draw any hidden meaning from the former, why should we expect any such meaning in the latter?

Descartes was the greatest geometer of the age he lived in, and one of the greatest of any age; which insensibly, led him to overlook intuitive knowledge, and to admit no proposition, but what is demonstrated or proved, in the regular form of syllogism. He took a fancy to doubt even of his own existence, till he was convinced of it by the following argument. *Cogito, ergo sum: I think, therefore I exist.* And what sort of a demonstration is this after all? If nothing is to be taken for granted, an argument is no less necessary to prove that he thinks, than to prove that he exists. It is true

true, that he has intuitive knowledge of his thinking; but has he not the same of his existing? Would not a man deserve to be laughed at, who, after warming himself at a fire, should imagine the the following argument necessary to prove its existence. "The fire burns," therefore "it exists."

C H A P. XLVI.

ON THE TENDENCY OF MORAL CHARACTER TO DIVERSIFY THE HUMAN FORM.

THE mind itself is often the original seat of disorder which is transferred to the animal system. In the history of individuals, it is obvious to observe, that a distempered imagination, and irregular passions, frequently prey upon the body, waste its vigour, and even hasten its dissolution. Judging then from analogy, it seems not unreasonable to expect, that the passions, to which society is occasionally obnoxious, may be productive of similar effects upon the multitude, appear in exterior symptoms, impair the soundness of public health, and enervate the principle of animal life. What form of society is most open to this annoyance, is a problem which, perhaps, the history of the species is not able to resolve. But, in general, it may be pronounced of human life, that the vindictive,

the envious, and unsocial passions, are hostile to the possessor, while all the opposite emotions diffuse a kindlier influence over our animal frame. "How miserable are the damned!" said Saint Catherine of Genoa; "they are no longer capable of love."

So close is the social union, that if the fiercest tyrant that ever existed in human form was doomed to be himself the executioner of his bloody edicts, the victims of his tyranny would become the instruments of his punishment, and the torture inflicted would be more than he could endure.

The little tyrant of Greece, whom the Hecuba of Euripides chased from the public theatre, all bathed in tears, retained, in defiance of himself, the sensibility of nature. And if the heart is thus liable to be subdued by fiction, how should it sustain, in similar circumstances, the actual presence of woe? To be callous to such impressions, is to be more or less than man; and, even where virtue is extinct, our organized system is liable to be affected by this powerful sympathy of minds.

Varieties of national character we observe imprinted on the physiognomy of nations. The several qualities of levity or vanity dignity or pride, pusillanimity, fortitude, dulness, vivacity, ferocity, meekness, and a thousand nicer gradations of moral character, rise up in the visage, and mark the exterior of man. Individuals, it is allowed, are often

ten found devoid of the characteristics that predominate in the family, in the tribe, or in the nation to which they belong, while they retain, nevertheless, all the usual marks of those characteristics. Hence, physiognomy is a delusive art. Men are belied by appearances, till at last the genuine expression of the individual is interpreted, and declares the fallacy of more equivocal and general signs. These general signs, the accumulated effect, perhaps, of prevailing habit for generations, may become congenial to a race; and, being wrought into the organization, cannot be effaced at once by the absence of the causes, which contributed to their formation.

To correct, and to establish mental habit, is the prerogative of a moral agent. But the lineaments and proportions of the body are not variable with the gradations of intellectual improvement; and hence the mind is so often at variance with the forms which the countenance assumes, in consequence of its primæval cast.

When the most exalted genius of antiquity*, by the exertion of this prerogative, had reformed and ennobled all the features of his character, a physiognomist, by the rules of art, judged of him from his constitutional propensities.

Some latitude, however, is allowed to man in this adjustment of things. He can often conceal

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or

* Socrates.

or disguise his sentiments by the suppression of the natural sign. He can assume appearances, without the feelings to which they belong. In the exercise of this talent he displays consummate address; and artificial language, more at command, favours the deceit, and countervails the language of nature. Such artifices confer a false and temporary physiognomy, that violates the connection of things, and belies the system of the mind; so difficult, however, and laborious, is this effort of art, that the most dexterous dissemblers, aided by all the power of words, often fail in the attempt.

A writer, profoundly versed in the human character, yet more disposed to heighten its blemishes than its perfections, has remarked, in one of the great statesmen of his time, this struggle between art and nature. "It is indeed true," says Dean Swift of Lord Somers, "that no man is more apt to take fire upon the least appearance of provocation, which temper he strives to subdue with the utmost violence upon himself; so that his breast has been seen to heave, and his eyes to sparkle with rage, in those very moments when his words and the cadence of his voice, were in the humblest and softest manner. Perhaps that force upon his nature may cause that insatiable love of revenge, which his detractors lay to his charge, who consequently reckon dissimulation among his chief perfections*."

To

* History of the four last years of the Queen.

To form false combinations is not only difficult, but the execution probably is always imperfect; and hence the great masters in expression, whether orators, or actors on the stage, must endeavour to feel all the emotions they would display to advantage. This may even influence the moral character. In often personating the hero, there is acquired a cast of heroism; and in personating mean wretches, there is a danger of actual debasement. Sentiments find an easy ingress through the imagination into the heart, and the occasional sentiments of the actor may become the habitual principles of the man. Thus, the profligate or libertine, long acted, abates the love of decorum; and he who can sustain the enthusiasm of any virtue, though in a borrowed character, has probably appropriated to himself some share of its real energy.

It is this mode of proceeding, which discriminates the actor of genius from the inferior mimic, whose talents are exhausted in the transcript of visible signs, regardless of their foundation in the human mind. In the one case, the representation is just and natural; in the other awkward and inanimated; and, by such a criterion, a sagacious observer will distinguish real excellence from mechanical imitation, in the fictitious drama; as in the drama of the world, candour from affectation, and the truth of character from dissimulation, and imposture.

Upon

Upon the whole, it may be concluded, that moral sentiment diversifies the outward form. And though the varieties, which indicate national character, may often be equally consistent with health and vigour, yet, in certain circumstances of society, there is reason to believe, that the predominant feelings of our nature become highly injurious to the animal œconomy.

Let us suppose a tribe of mankind, reduced to a situation the most humiliating and calamitous,—cramped in their intellectual exertions by an illiberal discipline,—prone to the sentiments they must learn to dissemble, and averse from other sentiments they are obliged to counterfeit,—at perpetual variance with fortune,—and led, by the rigour of its persecutions, to cherish the odious, the rancorous, the vindictive, to the exclusion of all the gentler passions. Under such circumstances, it were contrary to the whole analogy of nature, if the bodily constitution remained sound and untouched.

This picture is not copied from imagination, and assumed merely on the prerogative of hypothesis. The original is to be contemplated in the history of both the ancient and modern world; among the bondmen of Judæa, the helots of Sparta, the subjects of domestic tyranny among the Romans, and a large proportion of the species, in another hemisphere.

Of

Of all the nations of antiquity, the Athenians treated slaves with most humanity; the Spartans with the least. If, in the treatment of their women, the Spartans have appeared worthy of such superior praise; in this other branch of public manners, they are far inferior to the rival state. The most wanton debasement of slaves entered into the avowed plan of their civil discipline. The helots were even compelled to commit vice, in order to inspire an abhorrence of it in the Spartan youth; to besot themselves with intoxicating liquors, in order to afford a lesson of moderation to the free citizen. But how shocking is that policy, which sported with humanity in one form, to give it dignity in another; and authorised a breach of morality, with a view to enforce its precepts!

In general, however, the condition of ancient slaves was less unhappy, than that of modern ones. The *Chronia* of the Greeks, the *Saturnalia* of the Romans, could even invert the distinction of ranks. Slaves, on these festivals, were served by their masters; and all ranks of men were reminded, by an admirable establishment, of that primitive equality, which was supposed to have subsisted in the reign of Saturn, and the golden age. Some intervals of freedom were thus permitted; some short respite to the wretched. But the negro tribes are unacquainted with any such indulgences. And, without accusing their American masters of inhumanity

manity beyond the nations of antiquity, we may observe peculiar circumstances in their destiny, that enhance its rigour. Their masters, without being more inhuman by nature, are, in practice, more unjust. Ancient slaves found a refuge in the sympathy of their masters, which the negroes do not so easily excite. Their features and complexion, furnishing an occasion for unreasonable contempt, or antipathy approaching to hatred, extinguish that fellow-feeling with their sufferings, by which their grievances would often be lightened, and the hand of the oppressor disarmed.

Hatred, envy, and revenge, grow up naturally under such sufferings. But the love of liberty, the most stubborn principle of the heart, is at length eradicated. Self-reverence is gone; and emancipation itself cannot restore them to the honours of human nature. In time, they view themselves almost in the light, in which they are viewed by their rulers; and it is thus they finally acquiesce in their destiny, and cease even to think like free men, after having ceased to be free.

If then the unfortunate natives of Africa, the subjects of our dishonourable and odious commerce, do, in reality, degenerate in the various regions to which they are transferred, and, far from multiplying, cannot even keep up the number of the flock without perpetual recruits, it is not improbable that the insolence of tyranny, and the violence
 3 offered

offered to the stubborn passions and feelings of nature, contribute as largely to that degeneracy in their frame, as the smart of the rod, or malignity of climate, or the labours they are forced to endure.

The reduction of the negro tribes to perpetual servitude was contended for, in the fifteenth century, on this notable ground, "that they had the colour of the damned." This ground can only be occupied in an ignorant and superstitious age. But the arguments, by which the same conduct is still attempted to be vindicated, though more subtle and refined, are equally repugnant to reason, to humanity, and to sound policy. Those arguments have accordingly been refuted from all these considerations, by some of the most respectable writers in our own and other nations; by Hume, by Smith, by Montesquieu; and in a manner the most decisive and animated, by an author*, who unites to the warmest zeal for the rights of mankind, a comprehensive knowledge of their interests; and who has adorned a work, abounding in various and useful information for all nations, with all the lights of philosophy, and all the splendor of eloquence. The conviction of men of science is now the conviction of mankind in general, and, it is hoped, will have its due weight with those *higher powers*,

to

* Hist. Phil. et Polit. tome iv. p. 161.

to whom alone it belongs, by prohibiting the importation of slaves under the severest penalties, to annihilate for ever a traffic, which throws so great a stain on the political œconomy of modern ages.

C H A P. XLVII.

ON LUXURY.

MEN, who live by hunting, can bear a long fast, and gorge voraciously when they have plenty, without being the worse for it. Whence it is that barbarians are great and gross feeders. They are equally addicted to drunkenness, and peculiarly fond of spirituous liquors. Cyrus preparing to attack his brother Artaxerxes, King of Persia, published a manifesto, that he was more worthy of the throne than his brother, because he could swallow more wine. The ancient Scandinavians, who, like other savages, were intemperate in eating and drinking, swallowed large cups to their gods, and to such of their countrymen as had fallen bravely in battle. To hold much liquor was reputed a heroic virtue.

Anciently, people fed but once a-day, a fashion which continued, even after luxury was indulged in other respects. In the war of Xerxes against Greece,

Greece, it was pleasantly said of the Abderites, who were burdened with providing for the King's table, that they ought to thank the gods, for not inclining Xerxes to eat twice a-day. Plato held the Sicilians to be gluttons, for having two meals every day. In the reign of Henry VI. the people of England fed but twice a-day. Hector Boyes, in his history of Scotland, exclaiming against the growing luxuries of his contemporaries, says, that some persons were so gluttonous, as to have three meals every day.

Feasts in former times were carried beyond all bounds. William of Malmfbury, who wrote in the days of Henry II. says, " That the English were universally addicted to drunkenness, continuing over their cups day and night, keeping open house, and spending the income of their estates in riotous feasts, where eating and drinking were carried to excess, without any elegance." People, who live in a corner, imagine that every thing is peculiar to themselves. What Malmfbury says of the English is common to all nations, in advancing from the selfishness of savages to a relish for society, but who have not yet learned to bridle their appetites.

Giraldus Cambrensis, speaking of the Monks of Saint Swithin, says, that they threw themselves prostrate at the feet of Henry II. and with many tears complained, that the Bishop, who was their
 abbot

abbot, had withdrawn from them three of their usual number of dishes. Henry, having made them acknowledge, that there still remained ten dishes, said, that he himself was contented with three, and recommended to the Bishop to reduce them to that number.

About this period, angels, prophets, and patriarchs, were set upon the table in plenty. A curious desert was sometimes exhibited, termed *sutteltie*, viz. paste moulded into the shape of animals.

A feast given by Trivultius to Lewis XII. of France, in the city of Milan, makes a figure in Italian history. No fewer than 1200 ladies were invited; and the Cardinals of Narbon and St. Severin, with many other prelates were among the dancers. After dancing, followed the feast, to regulate which there were no fewer employed than 160 master-households. Twelve hundred officers in an uniform of velvet, or satin, carried the victuals, and served at the side-board.

The bill of fare of an entertainment, given by Sir Watkin Williams Wynn to a company of 1500 persons, on his coming of age, is a sample of ancient English hospitality, which appears to have nothing in view but crowding and cramming. The following passage is from Hollinshed: " That the length and sumptuousness of feasts formerly in use, are not totally left off in England; notwithstanding

ing that it proveth very beneficial to the physicians, who most abound, where greatest excess and misgovernment of our bodies appear." He adds, that claret, and other French wines were despised, and strong wines only in request. The best, he says, were to be found in monasteries; for that the merchant would have thought his soul would go straight way to the devil, if he should serve monks with other than the best.

In Scotland, sumptuous entertainments were common at marriages, baptisms, and burials. In the reign of Charles II. a statute was thought necessary to confine them within moderate bounds.

Of old, there was much eating with little variety. At present, there is great variety, with more moderation. From a household-book of the Earl of Northumberland, in the reign of Henry VIII. it appears that his family, during winter, fed mostly on salt meat, and salt fish; and with that view there was an appointment of 160 gallons of mustard. On flesh days, through the year, breakfast for my Lord and Lady was a loaf of bread, two manchets, a quart of beer, a quart of wine, half a chine of mutton, or a chine of beef boiled:—On meagre days, a loaf of bread, two manchets, a quart of beer, a quart of wine, a dish of butter, a piece of salt fish, or a dish of buttered eggs. During lent, a loaf of bread, two manchets, a quart of
beer,

beer, a quart of wine, two pieces of salt fish, six baconed herrings, four white herrings, or a dish of sproits. There was as little variety in the other meals, except on festival days.

The above way of living, was at that time high luxury. A lady's waiting woman, at present, would never have done with grumbling at such a table.

We learn from the same book, that the Earl had but two cooks for dressing victuals to more than 200 domestics. In those days, hen, chicken, capon, pigeon, plover, partridge, were reckoned such delicacies, as to be prohibited, except at my Lord's table.

CHAP. XLVIII.

ON REFINEMENTS IN COOKERY.

AS luxury advanced, delicacies became more familiar, Hollinshed observes, A. D. 1570, "that the nobility, rejecting their own cookery, employed as cooks musical-headed Frenchmen, and strangers." He says, that even merchants, when they gave a feast, rejected butcher's meat as unworthy of their tables; having jellies of all colours, and in all figures, representing flowers, trees, beasts, fish, fowl, and fruit."

Henry Wardlaw, Archbishop of St. Andrews, observing the refinements in cookery, introduced by James I. of Scotland, who had been eighteen years a prisoner in England, exclaimed against the abuse, in a parliament held at Perth 1433. He obtained a law, restraining superfluous diet, and prohibiting the use of baked meat to any under the degree of gentlemen ; and permitting it to gentlemen on festival-days only ; which baked meat, says the bishop, was never before seen in Scotland.

The peasants in Sicily regale themselves with ice during summer. They say, that scarcity of snow would be more grievous to them than scarcity of corn or of wine. Such progress has luxury made, even among the populace.

People of fashion in London and Paris, who employ their whole thoughts on luxurious living, would be surprised to be told, that they are still deficient in that art. In order to advance the luxury of the table to the *acme* of perfection, there ought to be a cook for every dish, as in ancient Egypt there was a physician for every disease.

Barbarous nations, being great eaters, are fond of large joints of meat ; and love of show retains great joints in fashion, even after meals become more moderate.

A wild boar was roasted whole, for a supper-dish to Anthony and Cleopatra ; and stuffed with poultry
and

and wild-fowl, it was a favourite dish at Rome, termed the *Trojan boar*, in allusion to the Trojan horse. The hospitality of the Anglo-Saxons was sometimes exerted in roasting an ox whole.

Great joints are left off gradually, as people become more and more delicate in eating. In France, great joints are less in use than formerly; and in England, the enormous surloin, formerly the pride of the nation, is now in polite families banished to the side-board.

In China, where manners are carried to a high degree of refinement, dishes are composed entirely of minced meat.

C H A P. XLIX.

ON HOUSES AND FURNITURE.

IN early times, people were no less plain in their houses, than in their food. Toward the end of the sixteenth century, the people of England were beginning to build with brick and stone. Formerly houses were made of timber posts, wattled together, and plaistered with clay to keep out the cold. The roof was straw, sedge, or reed. It was an observation of a Spaniard in Queen Mary's days, "These English have their houses of sticks and dirt, but they fare as well as the king."

From

From Lord Northumberland's household-book, it would seem, that grates were unknown at that time, and that they burnt their coal upon the hearth. A certain sum is allotted for purchasing wood ; because says the book, coals will not burn without it. There is also a certain sum allotted for purchasing charcoal, that the smoke of the sea-coal might not hurt the arras.

In the fourteenth century, the houses of private persons in Paris, as well as in London, were of wood. Morrifon, who wrote in the beginning of the last century, says, that, in London, the houses of the citizens were very narrow in the street-front, five or six stories high, commonly of wood and clay with plaister. The streets of Paris not being paved, were covered with mud ; and yet for a woman to travel these streets in a cart, was held an article of luxury and as such prohibited by Philip the Fair. Paris is enlarged two thirds since the death of Henry IV. though at that time it was, perhaps, no less populous than at present.

People were equally plain in their household-furniture. While money was scarce, servants got land instead of wages. An old tenure in England, binds the vassal to find straw for the King's bed, and hay for his horse.

From Lord Northumberland's household-book, mentioned above, it appears, that the linen allowed for a whole year amounted to no more than se-

venty ells; of which there were to be eight table-cloths for his Lordship's table, and two towels for washing his face and hands.

Hollinshed mentions his conversing with old men, who remarked many alterations in England within their remembrance;—that their fathers, and themselves formerly, had nothing to sleep on but a straw pallet, with a log of wood for a pillow;—a pillow, said they, being thought necessary only for a woman in child-bed;—and that if a man, in seven years after marriage, could purchase a flock-bed, and a sack of chaff to rest his head upon, he thought himself as well lodged as the lord of the town, who, perhaps, lay seldom on a bed entirely of feathers. Another thing they remarked, was change of household-vessels from timber plates into pewter and from wooden spoons into tin or silver.

C H A P. L.

ON THE DIFFERENT IDEAS OF LUXURY.

MEN in different ages differ widely in their notions of luxury. Every new object of sensual gratification, and every indulgence beyond what is usual, are commonly termed *luxury*; and cease to be luxury when they turn habitual. Thus, every historian, ancient and modern, while he inveighs against the luxury of his own times, wonders at former historians, for characterising as luxury, what he considers as conveniencies only, or rational improvements.

Galvanus Fiamma, who in the fourteenth century wrote a history of Milan, his native country, complains, that in his time plain living had given way to luxury and extravagance. He regrets the times of Frederic Barbarossa, and Frederic II. when the inhabitants of Milan, a great capital, had but three flesh-meals in a week, when wine was a rarity, when the better sort made use of dried wood for candles, and when their shirts were of serge, linen being confined to persons of the highest rank. "Matters," says he, "are wonderfully changed. Linnen is a common wear. The women dress in silk, ornamented frequently with gold and silver; and they wear gold pendants in their ears." A historian of the present times would

laugh at Fiamma, for stating as articles of luxury, what are no more than decent for a tradesman and his wife.

John Musso, a native of Lombardy, who also wrote in the fourteenth century, declaims against the luxury of his contemporaries, particularly against that of the citizens of Placentia, his countrymen. "Luxury of the table," says he, "of dress, of houses, and household furniture, in Placentia, began to creep in after the year 1300. Houses have at present halls, rooms with chimneys, porticos, wells, gardens, and many other conveniencies unknown to our ancestors. A house that has now many chimneys, had none in the last age. The fire was placed in the middle of the house, without any vent for the smoke but the tiles. All the family sat round it, and the victuals were dressed there. The expence of the household furniture is ten times greater than it was sixty years ago. The taste for such expence comes to us from France, from Flanders, and from Spain. Eating-tables, formerly but twelve inches long, are now grown to eighteen. They have table-cloths, with cups, spoons, and forks of silver, and large knives. Beds have silk coverings and curtains. They have got candles of tallow or wax, in candlesticks of iron or copper. Almost every where there are two fires, one for the chamber, and one for the kitchen.

Confections

Confections have come greatly in use, and sensuality regards no expence."

About eighty years ago, French wine, in Edinburgh taverns, was presented to the guests in a small tin vessel, measuring about an English pint. A single drinking-glass served a company the whole evening; and the first persons, who insisted for a clean glass with every new pint, were accused of luxury. A company of highlanders benighted, wrapped themselves up in their plaids, and lay down in the snow to sleep. A young gentleman, making up a ball of snow, used it for a pillow. His father, striking away the ball with his foot, "What, Sir," says he, "are you turning effeminate?"

In the mountainous island of Rum, one of the Western islands of Scotland, the corn produced serves the inhabitants but a few months in the winter. The rest of the year they live on flesh, fish, and milk; and yet are healthy and long-lived. In the year 1768, a man died there aged 103, who was 50 years old before he ever tasted bread. This old man frequently harangued upon the plain fare of former times; finding fault with his neighbours for indulging in bread, and upbraiding them for toiling like slaves, to produce such an unnecessary article of luxury.

Thus, every one exclaims against the luxury of the present times, judging more favourably of the

past ; as if what is luxury at present, would cease to be luxury when it becomes customary. What is the foundation of a sentiment so universal ? In judging of things that admit of degrees, comparison is the ordinary standard. Every refinement in corporeal pleasure, therefore, beyond what is customary, is held to be a blameable excess, below the dignity of human nature. For that reason, every improvement in living is pronounced to be luxury while recent, and drops that character when it comes into common use. For the same reason, what is moderation in the capital, is esteemed luxury in a country-town. Doth luxury then depend entirely on comparison ? Is there no other foundation for distinguishing moderation from excess ? This will hardly be maintained.

This subject is rendered obscure by giving different meanings to the term *luxury*. A French writer holds every sort of food to be luxury, but raw flesh and acorns, which were the original food of savages ; and every sort of covering to be luxury but skins, which were their original cloathing. According to that definition, the plough, the spade, the loom, are all instruments of luxury ; in which view, he justly extols luxury to the skies. We are born naked, because we can clothe ourselves ; and artificial cloathing is to man as much in the order of nature, as hair or feathers are to other animals. But whatever accords to the common nature of man,

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is right ; and for that reason cannot in a proper sense be termed *luxury*.

Shoes are a refinement from walking barefoot ; and Voltaire, taking this refinement to be luxury, laughs at those who declaim against luxury.

The true definition of luxury is “ *a faulty excess in the gratification of the external senses.*” It does not, however, belong to every one of these. The fine arts have no relation to luxury. A man is not even said to be luxurious, merely for indulging in dress, or in fine furniture. Hollinshed inveighs against drinking glasses as an article of luxury. At that rate, a house adorned with fine pictures or statues, would be an imputation on the proprietor.

In proper language, the term luxury is not applicable to any pleasure of the eye or ear ; but is confined to those pleasures which are merely corporeal. What excess in such pleasures may justly be denominated faulty, it is not difficult to determine.

Though our present life be a state of trial, yet our Maker has kindly indulged us in every pleasure, that is not hurtful to the mind nor to the body ; and therefore no excess, but what is hurtful, falls under the censure of being luxurious. It is faulty, as a transgression of self-duty ; and, as such, is condemned by the moral sense. The most violent declaimer against luxury will not affirm, that bread

is luxury, or a snow-ball used for a pillow. These are innocent, because they do no harm. As little will it be affirmed, that dwelling-houses, more capacious than those originally built, ought to be condemned as luxury; since they contribute to chearfulness as well as to health. The plague, some centuries ago, made frequent visits to London, promoted by air stagnating in narrow streets and small houses. From the great fire in 1666, when the houses and streets were enlarged, the plague has not once been in London.

C H A P. LI.

ON LUXURY IN EATING AND DRINKING, PARTICULARLY OF THE ENGLISH.

TOO great indulgence in corporeal pleasure seldom prompts violent exercise; but there are numberless instances, of its relaxing even that moderate degree of exercise, which is healthful both to mind and body. This, in particular, is the case of too great indulgence in eating or drinking. Such indulgence, creating a habitual appetite for more than nature requires, loads the stomach, depresses the spirits, and brings on a habit of listlessness and inactivity, which renders men cowardly and effeminate. People who are attached to riches, or to sensual pleasure, cannot think, without horror,

ror, of abandoning them. A virtuous man considers himself as placed here, in order to obey the will of his Maker.. He performs his duty, and is ready to quit his post upon the first summons.

And what does the epicure gain by his excess? In a grand palace, the master occupies not a greater space than his meanest domestic; and brings to his most sumptuous feast less appetite than any of his guests. Satiety makes him lose the relish even of rarities, which afford to others a poignant pleasure.

What enjoyment, then, have the opulent above others? Let them bestow their riches in making others happy. Benevolence will double their own happiness; first, in the direct act of doing good; and next, in reflecting upon the good they have done, the most delicate of all feasts.

Had the English continued Pagans, they would have invented a new deity to preside over cookery. A luxurious table, covered with every dainty, seems to be their favourite idol. A minister of state never withstands a feast. Luxury in eating is not unknown in their universities; the only branch of education that seldom proves abortive.

It has not escaped observation, that between 1740 and 1770, no fewer than six Mayors of London died in office, a greater number than in the preceding 500 years. Such havoc doth luxury in eating make among the sons of Albion.

Suicide is not influenced by foggy air ; for it is not more frequent in the fens of Lincoln or Essex, than in other parts of England. A habit of daily excess in eating and drinking, with intervals of of downy ease, relax every mental spring. The man flags in his spirits, and becomes languid and low. Nothing moves him. Every connection with the world is dissolved. A *tadium vitæ* ensues ; and then——

Providence has provided the gout, as a beacon on the rock of luxury, in order to warn us against it. But in vain. During distress, vows of temperance are made. During the intervals these vows are forgot. Luxury has gained too much ground in this island, to be restrained by admonition.

C H A P. LII.

ON THE LUXURY OF SOME LONDON-LADIES.

THE indulging in down-beds, soft pillows, and easy seats, is a species of luxury ; because it tends to enervate the body, and to render it unfit for fatigue. Some London Ladies employ an operator for paring their nails. Two young women of high quality, who were sisters, employed a servant with soft hands to raise them gently out
of

of bed in a morning. Nothing less than all powerful vanity can make such persons submit to the fatigues of a toilet. How can they ever think of submitting to the horrid pangs of child-bearing!

In the hot-climates of Asia, people of rank are rubbed, and chaffed twice a-day ; which, besides being pleasant, is necessary for health, by moving the blood in a hot country, where sloth and indolence prevail. The Greeks and Romans were curried, bathed, and oiled, daily, though they had not the same excuse for that practice. It was luxury in them, though not in the Asiatics.

Nations, where luxury is unknown, are troubled with few diseases, and have few physicians by profession. In the early ages of Rome women and slaves were the only physicians, because vegetables were the chief food of the people. When luxury prevailed among the Romans, their diseases multiplied, and physic became a liberal profession.

C H A P. LIII.

O N C O A C H E S.

WITH respect to exercise, the various machines that have been invented for executing every sort of work, render bodily strength of less importance than formerly. This change is favourable to mental operations, without hurting bodily health. The travelling on horseback, though a less vigorous exertion of strength than walking, is not luxury, because it is a healthful exercise. This cannot be said of wheel-carriages. A spring-coach, rolling along a smooth road, gives no exercise; or so little, as to be preventive of no disease. It tends to enervate the body, as well as the mind. The increase of wheel-carriages, within a century, is a remarkable proof of the growth of luxurious indolence. During the reign of James I. the English judges rode to Westminster on horseback, and probably did so for many years after his death. Charles I. issued a proclamation, prohibiting hackney-coaches to be used in London, except by those who travel at least three miles out of town. At the Restoration, Charles II. made his public entry into London on horseback, between his two brothers, the Dukes of York and Gloucester.

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We are told by Rushworth, that in London, not above a hundred years ago, there were but twenty hackney-coaches; which did not ply on the streets, but were kept at home till called for. He adds, that the King and council published a proclamation against them, because they raised the price of provender upon the King, nobility, and gentry. At present 1000 hackney-coaches ply in the streets of London.

The first coach with glasses in France was brought from Brussels to Paris, in the year 1660, by the prince of Condé. Sedan-chairs were not known in England before the year 1634. Cookery and coaches have reduced the military spirit of the English nobility and gentry to a languid state. The former, by overloading the body, has infected them with dispiriting ailments. The latter, by fostering ease and indolence have banished labour, the only antidote to such ailments.

C H A P. LIV.

ON THE PERNICIOUS EFFECTS OF LUXURY.

THE enervating effects of luxury upon the body, are, above all, remarkable in war. The officers of Alexander's army were soon tainted with Asiatic manners. Most of them, after bathing, had servants for rubbing them, and, instead of plain oil, used precious ointments. Leonatus, in particular, commissioned from Egypt the powder he used when he wrestled, which loaded several camels. Alexander reproved them mildly: I wonder that men, who have undergone such fatigues in war, are not taught by experience, that labour produces sweeter and sounder sleep than indolence. To be voluptuous, is an abject and slavish state. How can a man take care of his horse, or keep his armour bright, who disdains to employ his own hands upon what is dearest to him, his own body?

With respect to the mind in particular, manifold are the pernicious effects of luxury. Corporeal pleasures are all selfish; and, when much indulged, tend to make selfishness the leading principle. Voluptuousness, accordingly, relaxing every sympathetic affection, brings on a beastly selfishness which leaves nothing of man but the external figure.

figure. Besides, luxury renders the mind so effeminate, as to be subdued by every distress. The slightest pain, whether of mind or body, is a real evil; and any higher degree becomes a torture. The French are far gone in that disease. Pictures of deep distress, which attract English spectators, are to the French insupportable. Their aversion to pain overcomes the attractive power of sympathy, and debars from the stage every distress, that makes a deep impression. The Britons are gradually sinking into the same weakness. *Venice Preserv'd* collects not such numbers as it did originally; and would scarce be endured, were not our sympathy blunted by familiarity. A new play, in a similar tone, would not take.

The gradual decay of manhood in Britain, appears from their funeral rites. Formerly the deceased were attended to the grave by relations and friends of both sexes; and the day of their death was preserved in remembrance with solemn lamentation, as the day of their birth was with exhilarating cups. In England, a man was first relieved from attending his deceased wife to the grave; and afterwards from attending his deceased children; and now such effeminacy of mind prevails there, that, upon the last groan, the deceased, abandoned by every relation, is delivered to an undertaker by profession, who is left at leisure to mimic the funeral rites. In Scotland, such refinement has not yet taken

taken place. A man is indeed excused from attending his wife to the grave; but he performs that duty in person to every other relation, his children not excepted.

Luxury is a great enemy to population. It enhances the expence of living, and confines many to the batchelor-state. Luxury of the table, in particular, is remarkable for that effect. "The sole glory of the rich man," says Buffon, "is to consume and destroy; and his grandeur consists in lavishing in one day, upon the expence of his table, what would procure subsistence for many families. He abuses equally animals and his fellow creatures; a great part of whom, a prey to famine, and languishing in misery, labour and toil to satisfy his immoderate desires, and insatiable vanity; who, destroying others by want, destroys himself by excess."

CHAP. LV

LUXURY VIEWED IN A POLITICAL LIGHT.

TO consider luxury in a political view, no refinement of dress, of the table, of equipage, of habitation, is luxury in those, who can afford the expence; and the public gains by the encouragement that is given to arts, manufactures, and commerce. But a mode of living, above a man's annual income, weakens the state, by reducing to poverty, not only the squanderers themselves, but many innocent and industrious persons connected with them.

Luxury is, above all, pernicious in a commercial state. A person of moderation is satisfied with small profits. But the luxurious despise every branch of trade, that does not return great profits. Other branches are engrossed by foreigners, who are more frugal. The merchants of Amsterdam, and even of London, within a century, lived with more œconomy, than their clerks do at present. Their country-houses and gardens make not the greatest articles of their expence. At first, a merchant retires to his country-house on Sundays only and holidays; but beginning to relish indolent retirement, business grows irksome, he trusts all to his clerks, loses the thread of his affairs, and sees no longer with his own eyes.

In

In all times, luxury has been the ruin of every state where it prevailed. Nations originally are poor and virtuous. They advance to industry, commerce, and perhaps conquest and empire. But this state is never permanent. Great opulence opens a wide door to indolence, sensuality, corruption, prostitution, perdition.

In ancient Egypt, execution against the person of a debtor was prohibited. Such a law could not obtain but among a temperate people, where bankruptcy happens by misfortune, and seldom by luxury or extravagance.

In Switzerland, not only a bankrupt, but even his sons are excluded from public office, till all the family debts be paid.

C H A P. LVI.

ON THE AVERSION OF NEIGHBOURING TRIBES TO EACH OTHER.

THE inhabitants of Greenland, good-natured and inoffensive, have not even words for expressing anger or envy. Stealing from one another is abhorred; and a young woman, guilty of that crime, has no chance for a husband. At the same time they are faithless and cruel to those who come among them. They consider the rest of mankind as a different race, with whom they reject all society.

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The morality of the inhabitants of New Zealand is not more refined.

Plan Carpin, who visited Tartary in the year 1246, observes of the Tartars, that, though full of veracity to their neighbours, they did not think themselves bound to speak truth to strangers.

The Greeks anciently were held to be pirates: but not properly; for they committed depredations upon strangers only.

Cæsar, speaking of the Germans, says, " They hold it not infamous to rob, without the bounds of their canton."

This was precisely the case of our highlanders, till they were brought under due subjection after the rebellion in 1745.

Bougainville observes, that the inhabitants of Otaheite did not hesitate to steal from his people, though they never steal from one another, having neither locks nor bars in their houses.

The people of Benin, in Negroland, are good-natured, gentle, and civilized; and so generous, that if they receive a present, they are not at ease, till they return it double. They have unbounded confidence in their own people; but are jealous of strangers, though they politely hide their jealousy.

The different tribes of Negroes, speaking each a different language, have a rooted aversion to each other. This aversion is carried along with them to Jamaica;

Jamaica ; and they will rather suffer death from the English, than join with those of a different tribe in a plot for liberty.

Russian peasants think it a greater sin to eat meat in lent, than to murder one of a different country.

Among the Koriacs, bordering on Kamatskatka, murder within the tribe is severely punished ; but to murder a stranger is not minded.

While Rome continued a small state, neighbour and enemy were expressed by the same word.

In England of old, a foreigner was not admitted to be a witness.

In ancient history, we read of wars without intermission among small states in close neighbourhood. It was so in Greece. It was so in Italy, during the Infancy of the Roman republic. It was so in Gaul, when Cæsar commenced hostilities against that country ; and it was so over the whole world.

Many islands in the South Sea, and in other remote parts, have been discovered by Europeans ; who commonly found the natives with arms in their hands, resolute to prevent the strangers from landing. Orellana, lieutenant to Gonzales Pizarro, was the first European who sailed down the river Amazon to the sea. In his passage, he was continually assaulted by the natives with arrows from the banks of the river ; and some even ventured to attack him in their canoes.

Nor

Nor does such aversion wear away, even among polished people. An ingenious writer* remarks, that almost every nation hate their neighbours, without knowing why. I once heard a Frenchman swear, says that writer, that he hated the English, "*parce qu'ils versent du beurre fondu sur leur veau roti*;"—*because they pour melted butter upon their roast veal.*

The populace of Portugal have, to this day, an uncommon aversion to strangers. Even those of Lisbon, though a trading town frequented by many different nations, must not be excepted.

Travellers report, that the people of the duchy of Milan, remarkable for good nature, are the only Italians who are not hated by their neighbours.

The Piedmontese and Genoese have an aversion to each other, and agree only in their antipathy to the Tuscans. The Tuscans dislike the Venetians; and the Romans are not over-fond of the Tuscans, Venetians, or Neapolitans.

Very different is the case, with respect to distant nations. Instead of being objects of aversion, their manners, customs, and singularities, greatly amuse us.

Infants differ from each other in aversion to strangers. Some are extremely shy, others less so; and the like difference is observable in whole tribes.

* Baretti.

The inhabitants of some South Sea islands appear to have little or no aversion to strangers. But that is a rare instance, and has scarce a parallel in any other part of the globe.

Nations, the most remarkable for patriotism, are equally remarkable for aversion to strangers. The Jews, the Greeks, the Romans, were equally remarkable for both.

Patriotism, a vigorous principle among the English, makes them extremely averse to naturalize foreigners.

The inhabitants of New Zealand, both men and women, appear to be of a mild and gentle disposition. They treat one another with affection; but are implacable to their enemies, and never give quarter.

The love of their country, their property, and their friends, and the apprehensions tribes are under of being attacked by their neighbours, are, perhaps, the cause of their aversion; which, in individuals, frequent intercourse with mankind gradually conquers.

C H A P. LVII.

ON MENTAL ATTRACTION AND REPULSION.

WE are taught by the great Newton, that attraction and repulsion in matter, are, by alteration in circumstances, converted one into the other. This holds also in affection and aversion, which may be termed, not improperly, *mental attraction* and *repulsion*.

Two nations, originally strangers to each other, may, by commerce, or other favourable circumstances, become so well acquainted, as to change from aversion to affection. The opposite manners of a capital and a country-town, afford a good illustration. In the latter, people, occupied with their domestic concerns, are in a manner strangers to each other. A degree of aversion prevails, which gives birth to envy and detraction. In the former, a court, and public amusements, promote general acquaintance. Repulsion yields to attraction, and people become fond to associate with their equals.

The union of two tribes into one, is another circumstance that converts repulsion into attraction. Such conversion, however, is far from being instantaneous; witness the different small states of Spain, which were not united in affection for many years after they were united under one monarch; and this

this was also the case of the two kingdoms of England and Scotland.

In some circumstances the conversion is instantaneous; as where a stranger becomes an object of pity, or of gratitude. Many low persons in Britain contributed cheerfully for maintaining some French seamen, made prisoners at the commencement of a late war. It is no less instantaneous, when strangers, relying on our humanity, trust themselves in our hands.

Among the ancients, it was hospitality to strangers only, that produced mutual affection and gratitude. Glaucus and Diomedes were of different countries.

Hospitality to strangers is a symptom of improving manners. Cæsar, speaking of the Germans, says, "They hold it sacrilege to injure a stranger. They protect from outrage, and venerate those who come among them. Their houses are open to them, and they are welcome to their tables."

The ancient Spaniards were fond of war, and cruel to their enemies; but in peace, they passed their time in singing and dancing, and were remarkably hospitable to the strangers who came among them.

It shews great refinement in the Celtæ, that the killing a stranger was capital, when the killing a citizen was only banishment.

The Swedes and Goths were very hospitable to strangers; as indeed were all the northern nations of Europe.

The native Brazilians are singularly hospitable. A stranger no sooner arrives among them, than he is surrounded by women, who wash his feet, and give him to eat the best things they have. If he visit the same village more than once, the person, whose guest he was, takes it much amiss, if he think of changing his lodging.

C H A P. LVIII.

ON OUR TASTE FOR VARIETY.

AN uniform life of peace, tranquillity, and security, would not be long relished. Constant repetition of the same pleasures would render even a golden age tasteless, like an Italian sky during a long summer. Nature has, for wise purposes impressed upon us a taste for variety. Without this, life would be altogether insipid.

Paraguay, when governed by the Jesuits, affords a striking illustration. It was divided into parishes, in each of which a Jesuit presided as king, priest, and prophet. The natives were not suffered to have any property, but laboured incessantly for their daily bread, which was delivered to them out of a public

magazine. The men were employed in agriculture, the women in spinning; and certain hours were allotted for labour, for food, for prayer, and for sleep. They soon sunk into such a listless state of mind, as to have no regret at dying, when attacked by disease, or by old age. Such was their indifference about what might befall them, that, though they adored the Jesuits, yet they made no opposition, when the Fathers were, in the year 1767, attacked by the Spaniards, and their famous republic demolished. Yet this Jesuit republic is extolled by M. de Voltaire, as the most perfect government in the world, and as the triumph of humanity.

The monkish life is contradictory to the nature of man. The languor of that state is what, in all probability, tempts many a monk and nun, to find occupation even at the expence of virtue.

The life of the Maltese Knights is far from being agreeable, now that their knight-errantry against the Turks has subsided. While they reside in the island, a strict uniformity in their manner of living is painfully irksome. Absence is their only relief, when they can obtain permission. There will not remain long a knight in the island, except such, as by office are obliged to attendance.

Familiarity with danger is necessary to eradicate our natural timidity; and so deeply rooted is that principle, that familiarity with danger of one sort
does

does not harden us, with respect to any other sort. A foldier, bold as a lion in the field, is faint-hearted at sea, like a child; and a seaman, who braves the winds and waves, trembles when mounted on a horse of spirit. Even in the midst of dangers and unforeseen accidents, courage does not, at present, superabound. Sedentary manufacturers, who are seldom in the way of harm, are remarkably pusillanimous. What would men be, then, in a state of universal peace, concord, and security? They would rival a hare or a mouse in timidity. Farewell, upon that supposition, to courage, magnanimity, heroism, and to every passion that ennobles human nature!

C H A P. LIX.

ON INTELLECTUAL EXERCISE.

EXERCISE is no less essential to the mind than to the body. The reasoning faculty, for example, without constant and varied exercise, will remain weak and undistinguishing to the end of life. By what means does a man acquire prudence and foresight, but by experience? In this respect, the mind resembles the body. Deprive a child of motion, and it will never acquire any strength of limbs. The many difficulties that men

encounter, and their various objects of pursuit, rouse the understanding and set the reasoning faculty at work for means to accomplish desire. The mind, by continual exercise, ripens to its perfection; and by the same means, is preserved in vigour. It would have no such exercise in a state of uniform peace and tranquillity. Several of our mental faculties would be dormant; and we should even remain ignorant that we have such faculties.

The people of Paraguay are described as mere children in understanding. What wonder, considering their condition under Jesuit government, without ambition, without property, without fear of want, and without desires?

The wants of those who inhabit the torrid zone are easily supplied. They need no clothing, scarce any habitation; and fruits, which ripen there to perfection, give them food without labour. Need we any other cause for their inferiority of understanding, compared with the inhabitants of other climates, where the mind, as well as body, are constantly at work for procuring necessaries?

The blessings of ease and inaction are most poetically displayed in the following description. "O happy Laplander," says Linnæus, "who, on the utmost verge of the habitable earth, thus livest obscure, in rest, content, and innocence. Thou fearest not the scanty crop, nor ravages of war; and those

those calamities, which waste whole provinces and towns, can never reach thy peaceful shores. Wrapt in thy covering of fur, thou canst securely sleep,—a stranger to each tumultuous care,—unenvying, and unenvied. Thou fearest no danger but from the thunder of heaven. Thy harmless days slide on in innocence, beyond the period of a century. Thy health is firm, and thy declining age is tranquil. Millions of diseases, which ravage the rest of the world, have never reached thy happy climate. Thou livest as the birds of the wood. Thou carest not to sow nor reap, for bounteous Providence has supplied thee in all thy wants.”—So eloquent a panegyrist upon the Lapland life would make a capital figure upon an oyster. No creature is freer from want, no creature freer from war; and probably no creature is freer from fear; which, alas! is not the case of the Laplander.

C H A P. LX.

ON GOVERNMENT.

IT is so ordered by Providence, that there are always, in every society, men who are qualified to lead, as well as men who are disposed to follow. Where a number of people convene for any purpose, some will naturally assume authority, without the formality of election, and the rest will as naturally submit. A regular government, founded on laws, was probably not thought of, till people had frequently suffered by vicious governors.

During the infancy of national societies, government is extremely simple, as well as mild. No individual is, by nature, entitled to exercise magisterial authority over his fellows ; for no individual is born with any mark of pre-eminence to vouch that he has such a privilege. But nature teaches respect for men of age and experience ; who, accordingly, take the lead in deliberating and advising, while the execution is left to the young and vigorous.

Such as are acquainted with no manners, but what are modern, will be puzzled to account for the great veneration paid to old age in early times. Before writing was invented, old men were the repositories of knowledge, which they acquired by experience ; and young men had no access to know-
ledge

ledge but from them. At the siege of Troy, Nestor, who had seen three generations, was the chief adviser and director of the Greeks. But, as books are now the most patent road to knowledge, to which both old and young have access, it may justly be said, that by the invention of writing and printing, old men have lost much of their pristine importance.

War cannot be carried on without a commander. His authority, however, was originally limited to actual war; and he returned home a private person, even when crowned with victory.

The wants of men were originally so few, and so easily satisfied, as seldom to occasion a controversy among members of the same tribe. And men, finding vent for their dissocial passions against other tribes, were glad to live peaceably at home.

The introduction of money made an amazing change. Wealth, bestowed by fortune, or procured by rapine, made an impression on the vulgar. Different ranks were recognized. The rich became imperious, and the poor mutinous. Selfishness prevailing over social affection, stirred up every man against his neighbour; and men, overlooking their natural enemies gave vent to dissocial passions within their own tribe. It became necessary to strengthen the hands of the sovereign, in order to repress passions inflamed by opulence, which tend

to the dissolution of society. This slight view fairly accounts for the gradual progress of government from the mildest form to the most despotic.

In every nation, democracy was the original form of government. Before ranks were distinguished, every man was entitled to vote in matters of common concern.

When a tribe becomes too numerous for making one body, or for being convened in one place, the management falls naturally to the elders of the people; who, after acquiring authority by custom, are termed the *senate*. From this form of government, the transition is easy to a limited monarchy. Absolute monarchy, contradictory to the liberty that all men should enjoy in every government, can never be established but by force.

C H A P. LXI.

ON DIFFERENT FORMS OF GOVERNMENT.

PURE democracy, like that of Athens, Argos, and Carthage, is the worst form of government, except despotism. The people, in whom the sovereign power resides, are insolent in prosperity, timid in adversity, cruel in anger, blind and prodigal in affection, and incapable of embracing steadily a prudent measure.

The fate of Socrates is a sad instance of the changeable, as well as violent, disposition of a democratical state. He was condemned to death for attempting innovations in the established religion. The sentence was highly unjust. He attempted no innovation; but only, among his friends expressed purer notions of the Deity, than were common in Greece at that time. But his funeral obsequies were scarce over, when bitter remorse seized the people. His accusers were put to death without trial. Every person was banished, who had contributed to the sentence pronounced against him, and his statue was erected in the most public part of the city.

The great Scipio in his camp near Utica, was surrounded with three Carthaginian armies, which waited only for day light to fall upon him. He prevented the impending blow, by surprising them in

the dead of night ; which gave him a complete victory. This misfortune (for it could scarce be called bad conduct) provoked the democracy of Carthage, to pronounce sentence of death against Asdrubal their general.

A commonwealth is the best form of government for a small state. There is little room for inequality of rank, or of property ; and the people can act in a body.

Monarchy is preferable for a large state, where the people, widely spread, cannot be easily collected into a body.

In a great commonwealth, ambition is apt to trample upon justice, selfishness upon patriotism, and the public is sacrificed to private views. To prevent corruption from turning incurable, the only remedy is a strict rotation in office, which may be aptly compared to a group of jets d'eau, rising one above another in beautiful order, and preserving the same order in descending. The form of the group continues invariable, but the forming parts are always changing.

By such rotation, every citizen in his turn governs, and is governed. The highest office is limited as to time, and the greatest men in the state must submit to the sacred law of obeying, as well as of commanding.

A man, long accustomed to power, is not happy in a private station. That corrupting habit is pre-

vented, by an alternate succession of public and private life ; which is more agreeable by variety, and contributes no less to virtue than to happiness.

This form of government, in ancient Rome, produced citizens without number, illustrious for virtue and talents. Reflect upon Cincinnatus, eminent among heroes for disinterested love to his country. Had he been a Briton, a seat in parliament would have gratified his ambition, as affording the best opportunity of serving his country. In parliament he joins the party that appears most zealous for the public. Being deceived in his friends, patriots in name only, he goes over to the court ; and, after fighting the battles of the ministry for years, he is compelled by a shattered fortune to accept a post or a pension. Fortunate Cincinnatus ! born at a time, and in a country where virtue was the passport to power and glory.

Cincinnatus, after serving with honour and reputation as chief magistrate, cheerfully retired to a private station, in obedience to the laws of his country. Nor was that change a hardship on a man, who was not corrupted by a long habit of power.

Political writers define a free state to be, where the people are governed by laws of their own making. This definition, however is imperfect ; for laws made by the people are not always just.

There were many unjust laws enacted in Athens, during the democratical government; and in Britain, instances are not wanting of laws, not only unjust, but oppressive.

The true definition of a free state is, where the laws of nature are strictly adhered to, and where every municipal regulation is contrived to improve society, and to promote honesty and industry.

C H A P. LXII.

ON DESPOTISM.

DESPOTISM is the worst species of government; being contrived to support arbitrary will in the sovereign, without regarding the laws of nature, or the good of society.

The lawless cruelty of a King of Persia is painted to the life, by a single expression of a Persian grandee, "That every time he left the King's apartment, he was inclined to feel with his hand, whether his head was on his shoulders."

In the Russian empire men approach the throne with terror. The slightest political intrigue is a sufficient foundation for banishing the greatest nobleman to Siberia, and for confiscating his estate.

Despotism is every where the same. It was high treason to sell a statue of the Roman emperor; and

and it was doubted, whether it was not high treason to hit an emperor's statue with a stone thrown at random.

When Elisabeth, Empress of Russia, was on her death-bed, no person would dare to enquire about her; and, even after her death, it was not at first safe to speak of it.

The following incident is a striking example of the violence of passion, indulged in a despotic government, where men in power are under no controul. Thomas Pereyra, a Portuguese general, having assisted the King of Pegu in a dangerous war with his neighbour of Siam, was a prime favourite at court, having elephants of state, and a guard of his own countrymen. One day coming from court mounted on an elephant, and hearing music in a house where a marriage was celebrating between a daughter of the family and her lover, he went into the house, and desired to see the bride. The parents took the visit as a great honour, and cheerfully presented her. He was instantly smitten with her beauty, ordered his guards to seize her, and to carry her to his palace. The bridegroom, as little able to bear the affront as to revenge it, cut his own throat.

C H A P. LXIII.

ON THE DEPRESSION OF MIND IN THE SUBJECTS OF DESPOTISM.

SERVILITY and depression of mind, in the subjects of a despotic government, cannot be better marked, than in the funeral rites of a Roman Emperor, described by Herodian. The body being burnt privately, a waxen image, representing the Emperor, was laid in a bed of state. On one side sat the senators several hours daily, clothed in black; and on the other, the most respectable matrons, clothed in white. The ceremony lasted seven days; during which, the physicians from time to time approached the bed, and declared the Emperor to be worse and worse.

On the day appointed for declaring the Emperor dead, the most dignified of the nobility carried the bed upon their shoulders, and placed it in the old forum, where the Roman magistrates formerly laid down their office. Then began doleful ditties, sung to his memory by boys and women. These being ended the bed was carried to the *Campus Martius*, and there burnt upon a high stage with great solemnity. When the flames ascended, an eagle was let loose, which was supposed to carry the soul of the Emperor to heaven.

Such

Such a farce was more ridiculous than a puppet-show. Dull must have been the spectator, who could behold the solemnity without smiling at least, if not laughing out right; but the Romans were crushed by despotism, and nothing could provoke them to laugh. That ridiculous farce continued to be acted till the time of Constantine.

C H A P. LXIV.

ON THE INFLUENCE OF DESPOTISM ON THE FINEST COUNTRIES.

THE finest Countries have been depopulated by Despotism; witness Greece, Egypt, and the lesser Asia. The river Menam, in the kingdom of Siam, overflows annually like the Nile, depositing a quantity of slime, which proves a rich manure. The river seems to rise gradually as the rice grows; and retires to its channel, when the rice, approaching to maturity, needs no longer to be watered. Nature besides has bestowed on that rich country variety of delicious fruits, requiring scarce any culture. In such a paradise, would one imagine that the Siamites are a miserable people? The government is despotic, and the subjects are slaves. They must work for their monarch six months every year, without wages, and even without receiving any food from him.

What

What renders them still more miserable is, that they have no protection, either for their persons or their goods. The grandees are exposed to the rapacity of the King and his courtiers; and the lower ranks are exposed to the rapacity of the grandees.

When a man has the misfortune to possess a tree, remarkable for good fruit, he is required in the name of the King, or of a courtier, to preserve the fruit for their use.

Every proprietor of a garden, in the neighbourhood of the capital, must pay a yearly sum to the keeper of the elephants; otherwise it will be laid waste by these animals, whom it is high treason to molest.

From the sea-port of Mergui to the capital, one travels ten or twelve days through immense plains of a rich soil, finely watered. That country appears to have been formerly cultivated, but is now quite depopulated, and left to tygers and elephants.

In the island of Ceylon, the King is sole proprietor of the land, and the people are supinely indolent. Their huts are mean, without any thing like furniture. Their food is fruit that grows spontaneously; and their covering is a piece of coarse cloth, wrapped round the middle.

The settlement of the Dutch East India company, at the Cape of Good Hope, is profitable to them in their commerce with the East-Indies;

and it would be much more profitable, if they gave proper encouragement to the tenants and possessors of their lands. But these poor people are ruled with a rod of iron. The produce of their land is extorted from them by the company at so low a price, as scarce to afford them common necessaries.

Avarice, like many other irregular passions, obstructs its own gratification. Were industry duly encouraged, the produce of the ground would be in greater plenty, and goods be afforded voluntarily at a lower price, than they are at present obtained by violence.

The Peruvians are a sad example of the effects of tyranny; being reduced to a state of stupid insensibility. No motive to action influences them; neither riches, nor luxury, nor ambition. They are even indifferent about life. The only pleasure they feel is to get drunk, in order to forget their misery.

The provinces of Moldavia, Walachia, and Bessarabia, are remarkable for fertility of soil. The pastures, in particular, are excellent, producing admirable horses, with an incredible number of sheep and horned cattle; and corn, wine, oil, and wax, were formerly produced there in great plenty. So populous was Walachia, a few centuries ago, that its Prince was able to raise an army
of

of seventy thousand men. Yet, notwithstanding all these advantages, the wretched policy of the Turkish government has reduced these provinces to be almost a desert.

A despotic government stifles in the birth all the bounties of nature, and renders the finest spots of the globe equally sterile with its barren mountains. When a patriotic king travels about to visit his dominions, he is received with acclamations of joy. A despotic prince dares not hope for such a reception. He is locked up in his seraglio, ignorant of what passes; and indolently suffers his people to be pillaged, without even hearing of their distresses. A despotic prince accordingly, whose wants are all supplied with profusion, and who has nothing left him, either to wish for or desire, carries on a most languid existence. The following sentiments of Rousseau, on this subject, are very just: " Tout Prince qui aspire au despotisme, aspire à l'honneur de mourir d'ennui. Dans tous les royaumes du monde cherchez-vous l'homme le plus ennuyé du pays? Allez toujours directement au souverain; surtout s'il est très absolu. C'est bien la peine de faire tant de misérables! ne faudroit-il s'ennuyer à moindres frais?"

C H A P. LXV.

ON THAT FORM OF GOVERNMENT, WHICH IS
MOST FAVOURABLE TO PATRIOTISM.

EVERY form of government must be good that inspires patriotism; and the best form to invigorate that noble passion is a commonwealth founded on rotation of power; where it is the study of those in office to do good, and to merit approbation from their fellow-citizens.

In the Swiss Cantons, the salaries of magistrates and public officers are scarce sufficient to defray their expences; and those worthy persons desire no other recompence, but to be esteemed and honoured. Thus, these offices are filled with men of ability and character.

The revenues of Geneva scarcely amount to thirty thousand pounds a year; which however, by a well-regulated œconomy, is more than sufficient to defray the current expences. And this republic is enabled to provide for the security of its subjects, from an income, which many individuals, both in France and England, squander in vain pomp, and vicious dissipation.

A republic, so modelled, inspires virtues of every sort. The people of Switzerland seldom think of a writing to confirm a bargain. A law-suit is scarce known among them; and there are
many,

many, who never heard of a counsellor, nor of an attorney. Their doors are never shut but in winter.

Patriotism, however, is observed of late years to be on the decline among the citizens of Bern; and no wonder, considering that luxury and selfishness are the never-failing offspring of opulence. When selfishness becomes the ruling passion of that people, those in power will pilfer the public treasure, which is immense and enrich themselves with the spoils of the republic. Confusion and anarchy must ensue, and the state will settle in a monarchy, or, more probably, in an odious democracy.

It is patriotism that Montesquieu has in view, when he pronounces virtue to be the leading principle in a republic. He has reason to term it so, because patriotism is connected with every social virtue; and, when it vanishes, every social virtue vanishes with it.

Industry and frugality may, in some measure, have the same effect with patriotism, where riches are gained by labour, not by inheritance. Manchester is one of the greatest manufacturing villages in England. Industry there flourishes, and with it frugality and honesty. It is remarkable, that its numerous inhabitants, amounting to above 40,000, are governed by a magistrate of no higher rank than a justice of peace constable; and by his
authority

authority, small as it is, peace and good order are preserved. The best citizens are not unwilling to be constables ; and some are ambitious of the office. There are in England many other great manufacturing villages, that are governed pretty much in the same manner.

Democracy will never be recommended by any enlightened politician, as a good form of government ; were it for no other reason, but that patriotism cannot long subsist where the mob governs.

In monarchy, the King is exalted so high above his subjects, that his ministers are little better than servants. Such condition is not friendly to patriotism. It is as little friendly to ambition ; for ministers are still servants however much raised above other subjects. Wealth, being the only remaining pursuit, promotes avarice to be their ruling passion. Now, if patriotism be not found in ministers, who have power, far less in men who have no power ; and thus, in a monarchy, riches are preferred before virtue, and every vicious offspring of avarice has free growth.

The worst sort of monarchy is that which is elective ; because patriotism can have no stable footing in such a state. The degeneracy of the Poles is owing to an elective monarchy. Every neighbouring state being interested in the election, money is the great engine that influences
the

the choice. The electors, being tempted by every motive of interest, lose sight of the public, and each of them endeavours to make as advantageous a bargain as possible.

C H A P. LXVI.

ON THE INFLUENCE OF OPULENCE IN DIFFERENT FORMS OF GOVERNMENT.

THOUGH riches, joined with ambition, produce bold attempts for power, yet they are not dangerous in monarchy, were the sovereign is so far superior, as to humble to the dust the most aspiring of his subjects. But riches, joined with ambition, are dangerous in a republic. Ambition will suggest the possibility of sowing dissension among the leaders; and riches will make the attempt successful.

Wealth, accumulated by commerce in Carthage and in Athens, extinguished patriotism, and rendered their democracies unjust, violent, and tyrannical. It had another bad effect; which was, to make them ambitious of conquest. The sage Plutarch charges Themistocles with the ruin of Athens. "That great man," says he, "inspired his countrymen with desire of naval power. That power produced extensive commerce, and consequently riches. Riches again, besides luxury, inspired

spired the Athenians with a high opinion of their power, and made them rashly engage in every quarrel among their neighbours." Suppress the names, and one will believe it to be a censure on the conduct of Britain.

A state, with a small territory, such as Hamburgh or Holland, may subsist long as a commonwealth, without much hazard from the opulence of individuals. But an extensive territory, in the hands of a few opulent proprietors, is dangerous in a commonwealth; on account of their influence over numbers, who depend on them for bread.

The island of Britain is too large for a commonwealth. This did not escape a profound political *writer, who is an honour to his country; and, to remedy the evil, he proposes an Agrarian law. But fondness for a system of his own invention made him overlook a defect in it, that would not have escaped him, had it been the invention of another; which is, that accumulation of land can never be prevented by an Agrarian law.

CHAP. LXVII.

ON THE PECULIAR ADVANTAGES OF SMALL STATES.

PATRIOTISM is vigorous in small states. Emulation has the finest play within certain bounds. It languisheth, where its objects are too many, or too few. Hence it is, that the most heroic actions are performed in a state of moderate extent. Appetite for applause, or fame, may subsist in a great monarchy; but by that appetite, without the support of emulation, heroic actions are seldom atchieved.

Small states, however corrupted, are not liable to despotism. The people being close to the seat of government, and accustomed to see the governors daily, talk familiarly of their errors, and publish every where.

On Spain, which formerly consisted of many small states, a profound *writer makes the following observation. "The petty monarch was but little elevated above his nobles. Having little power, he could not command much respect; nor could his nobles look up to him with that reverence, which is felt in approaching great monarchs."

Another thing is equally weighty against despotism in a small state. The army cannot easily be separated from the people; and, for that reason, is not very dangerous.

In

* Dr. Robertson.

In an extensive state, on the other hand, the people, at a distance from the throne, and having a profound veneration for the sovereign, consider themselves, not as members of a body-politic, but as subjects bound to obey implicitly. By this impression, they are prepared before-hand for despotism. The subjects of a great state are dazzled with the splendor of their monarch; and as their union is prevented by distance, the monarch can safely employ a part of his subjects against the rest, or a standing army against all.

CHAP. LXVIII.

ON THE SPLENDID WORKS OF GREAT STATES.

A Great state possesses an eminent advantage, viz, ability to execute magnificent works. The hanging gardens of Babylon, the pyramids of Egypt, and its lake Mæris, are illustrious examples.

The city of Heliopolis in Syria, named *Balbek* by the Turks, is a remarkable instance of the power and opulence of the Roman empire. Even in the ruins of that city, there are remains of great magnificence, and exquisite taste.

If the imperial palace, or temple of the sun, were the work of any European prince existing at
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present, it would make a capital figure in the annals of his reign. And yet so little was the *eclat* of these works, even at the time of execution, that there is not a hint of them in any historian.

The beneficence of some great monarchs is worthy of still greater praise. In the principal roads of Japan, hot baths are erected at proper distances, with other conveniencies, for the use of travellers.

The beneficence of the Chinese government to those who suffer shipwreck, gives a very advantageous impression of that monarchy. In the year 1728, the ship Prince George took her departure from Calcutta in Bengal for Canton in China, with a cargo worth sixty thousand pounds. A violent storm drove her ashore at a place named *Timpau*, a great way West from Canton. Not above half the crew could make the shore, worn out with fatigue and hunger, and not doubting of being massacred by the natives. How amazed were they to be treated with remarkable humanity ! A Mandarin appeared, who not only provided for them plenty of victuals, but also men skilled in diving to assist them in fishing the wreck. " In a few days," says our author, " we recovered five thousand pounds in bullion, and afterwards ten thousand pounds more. Before we set forward to Canton, the Mandarin our benefactor took an exact account of our money, with the names of the men, furnished us with

with an escort to conduct us through his district, and consigned us dead or alive to one Suqua at Canton, a Chinese merchant, well known to the English there. In every one of our resting places, victuals were brought to us by the villagers in plenty, and with great cordiality. In this manner, we passed from one district to another, without having occasion to lay out a single farthing, till we reached Canton, which we did in nine days, travelling sometimes by land, and sometimes by water. Our case had been represented to the court at Pekin, from whence orders came to distribute amongst us a sum of money; which was done by the Chuntuck, Hoppo, and other officers, civil and military, assembled in great state. After a short speech, expressing regret for our calamity, with an eulogium on the humane and generous disposition of their master, to each of us was presented the master's bounty in a yellow bag, on which was inscribed the nature of the gift. The first supercargo received 450 tales in silver, the second 350, myself 250, the mate 75, and each common seaman 15; the whole amounting to about 2000 tales, or eight hundred pounds. This is an example worthy of imitation, even where Christianity is professed; though its tenets are often, on like occasions scandalously perverted." This bounty was, no doubt, established by law; for it has not the appearance of an occasional or singular act of benevolence. If so,

China is the only country in the world, where charity to strangers in distress is a branch of public police.

CHAP. LXIX.

ON THE ARTIFICES OF MINISTERS IN A DESPOTIC GOVERNMENT.

GREAT monarchs, being highly elevated above their subjects, are acquainted with none but their ministers. And ministers, who in a despotic government are subject to no controul but that of their master, commonly prefer their own interest, without regard to his honour.

Solyman Emperor of the Turks, though accomplished above any of his predecessors, could not escape the artifices of his wife Roxalana, and of his Visir Rustan. They poisoned his ears with repeated calumnies against his eldest son Mustapha, a young prince of great hopes. They were not in hazard of detection, because no person had access to the emperor but by their means. And the concluding scene, was an order from the Emperor to put his son to death.*

If a great monarch lie thus open, in his own palace to the artifices of his ministers, his authority, we may be certain, will be very slight over the governors

* Dr. Robertson's history of Charles V.

governors of his distant provinces. Their power is precarious; and they oppress the people without intermission, in order to amass wealth. The complaints of the people are disregarded; for they never reach the throne.

The Spanish governors of the Philippine islands afford a deplorable instance of this observation. The heat of the climate promotes luxury; and luxury promotes avarice, which rages without controul, the distance of the capital removing all fear of detection. Arbitrary taxes are imposed on the people, and excessive duties on goods imported; which are rigorously exacted, because they are converted by the governor to his own use. An arbitrary estimate is made of what every field may produce; and the husbandman is severely punished, if he fail to deliver the appointed quantity, whether his land has produced it or not. Many thousands have abandoned their native country; and the few miserable wretches who remain, have taken refuge among inaccessible mountains.

C H A P. LXX.

ON THE INTERNAL CONVULSIONS AND REVOLUTIONS OF AN EXTENSIVE MONARCHY.

AN extensive monarchy is liable to internal convulsions or revolutions, occasioned commonly either by a standing army, or by the governors of distant provinces. With respect to the former, the government of a great kingdom, enervated by luxury, must be military, and consequently despotic.

A numerous army will soon learn to contemn a pusillanimous leader, and to break loose from every tie of subjection. The sovereign is often changed at the caprice of the army ; but despotism continues to triumph.

In Turkey, the Jannisaries dethrone the Sultan, without scruple ; but being superstitiously attached to the royal family, they confine themselves to it in electing a new Sultan. The pretorian bands were the Janissaries of the Roman empire, who never scrupled to dethrone the emperor, if he gave them the slightest offence.

With respect to the latter, the governors of distant provinces, accustomed to act without controul, become greedy of power, and set no bounds to ambition. Let them but gain the affection of the people they govern, and boldness will do the rest. The monarch is dethroned before he is prepared
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for defence, and the usurper takes his place without opposition. Success commonly attends such undertakings; for the sovereign has no soul, and the people have no patriotism.

C H A P. LXXI.

ON THE DIFFICULTY OF GUARDING THE FRONTIERS OF A GREAT EMPIRE.

A Kingdom, like an animal, becomes weak, in proportion to its excess above a certain size. France and Spain would be less fitted for defence, were they enlarged beyond their present extent. Spain, in particular, was a very weak kingdom, while it comprehended the Netherlands, and the half of Italy. In their present extent, forces are soon collected to guard the most distant frontiers.

Months are required to assemble troops in an overgrown kingdom like Persia. If an army be defeated at the frontier, it must disperse, fortified places being seldom within reach. The victor, advancing with celerity, lays siege to the capital, before the provincial troops can be formed into a regular army. The capital is taken, the empire dissolved; and the conqueror, at leisure, disputes the provinces with their governors.

The Philippine islands made formerly a part of the extensive empire of China ; but, as they were too distant to be protected or well governed, it showed consummate wisdom in the Chinese government to abandon them, with several other distant provinces.

A small state, on the other hand, is easily guarded. The Greek republics thought themselves sufficiently fortified against the Great King, by their courage, their union, and their patriotism.

The Romans, while circumscribed within Italy, never thought of any defence against an enemy, but good troops. When they had acquired a vast empire, even the Rhine appeared a barrier too weak. The numberless forts and legions, that covered their frontiers, could not defend them from a panic, upon every motion of the barbarians.

The use of cannon, which place the weak and strong upon a level, is the only resource of the luxurious and opulent against the poor and hardy.

In our times, the nations, whose frontiers lie open, would make the most resolute opposition to an invader ; witness the German states, and the Swiss cantons.

Italy enjoys the strongest natural barrier of any country, that is not an island ; and yet, for centuries, it has been a prey to every invader.

Three plans, at different times, have been put in execution, for securing the frontiers of an extensive

five empire, viz. building walls,—laying the frontiers waste,—and establishing feudatory princes. The first was the ancient practice, proper only for an idle people, without commerce. The Egyptians built a very extensive wall, for protecting themselves against the wandering Arabs. The famous wall of China to protect its effeminate inhabitants against the Tartars, is known over all the world : and the walls built in the north of England against the Scots and Picts, are known to every Briton.

To protect the Roman territory from German invaders, the Emperor Probus constructed a stone wall, strengthened with towers. It stretched from Ratisbon on the Danube to Wimpfen on the Neckar ; and terminated on the bank of the Rhine, after a winding course of 200 miles.

Such walls, though erected with stupendous labour, prove a very weak bulwark ; for a wall of any extent is never so carefully guarded, as at all times to prevent surprize. And, accordingly, experience has taught that walls cannot be relied on. This, in modern times, has introduced the two other methods mentioned.

Sha Abbas, King of Persia, in order to prevent the inroads of the Turks, laid waste part of Armenia, carrying the inhabitants to Ispahan, and treating them with great humanity. Land is not much valued by the great monarchs of Asia. It is pre-

cious in the smaller kingdoms of Europe ; and the frontiers are commonly guarded by fortified towns.

The other frontiers of Persia are guarded by feudatory princes ; and the same method is practised in China, in Hindostan, and in the Turkish empire. The princes of Little Tartary, Moldavia, and Wallachia, have been long a security to the Grand Signior, against his powerful neighbours in Europe.

CHAP. LXXII.

ON THE HEREDITARY GENIUS OF NATIONS.

THE empire of the imagination and the passions, by diversifying the natural form, and reaching the organization of man, has appeared to be extensive. But, without invigorating or enervating the principle of mere animal life, perhaps his genius and character, in one age, may affect the original genius and character of succeeding generations.

The separation of families and the distinction of ranks are essential to all political establishments. No division of property, no rules of patrimonial succession, no sumptuary, no agrarian laws can long preserve a parity of rank and fortune among any people.

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The greater number, indeed, in every state are rendered subservient to the few ; are confounded together in one class, and compose the rude vulgar of mankind. Thus, in the plan of the Comitia of Rome, the people were distributed into six classes, and every Roman was allowed some share of political power ; but the lowest class gradually sunk into neglect. The whole power of the comitia was transferred to their superiors, and those of each class, though equal in their collective capacity, were, as men and as citizens, of very unequal consideration.

Theseus instituted at Athens an order of nobility, and debarred the people at large from all the honourable functions of civil government. And if Solon, by permitting every citizen to vote in the public assembly, seemed to confer on the meanest of them a sort of political existence ; yet, even by Solon's plan, the Athenians were divided into three classes, while the mass of the people, distinct from these, were legally excluded from all offices of trust or honour.

In Sparta alone an equality of fortune was the aim of the legislator, and an avowed maxim of government. But the expedients of Lycurgus were not effectual for that purpose ; and, even in the purest ages of the commonwealth, the distinction of riches and poverty was not totally unknown.

Such is the condition of men in the most democratical states. The forms of society require subordination. The detail of affairs calls for different occupations; and mankind are distributed into classes, to which belong unequal degrees of importance.

That the subdivision of arts, which is so conducive to their perfection, degrades the character of the common artizan, is a proposition consonant to the uniform experience of civilized nations. The most simple manufacture is executed by the joint labour of a number of people, each of whom being expert only in his own peculiar branch, perceives neither the perfection of the design, nor the result of the combination. That systematic knowledge belongs only to the master artist; and the detail of the execution seems to resemble, in some sort, the proceedings of instinct in animal life, where we so often observe, by the wisdom of nature, a regular, though blind, co-operation of numbers towards an unknown end.

The manufacture of a pin is a trite example, serving well to illustrate this subdivision of labour. That business is subdivided into about eighteen distinct operations, which are sometimes all performed by distinct hands. In manufactures of a more complicated fabric, the operations are still farther subdivided, and often tend, among the various orders of artizans, to debilitate the body, and to engender disease. But exclusive of this conse-

quence, the life of such an artizan is filled up with a series of actions, which, returning with an insipid uniformity, affords no exercise to genius or capacity. And if the tendency of his occupation is not counteracted by some expedient of government, he is suffered to fall into a torpor of intellect, which implies the absence or annihilation of every manly virtue. Such occupations, in the ancient republics of Greece and Rome, were considered as beneath the dignity of free citizens, and were commonly exercised by slaves.

In the present state of the arts among European nations; perhaps the most respectable character, among the inferior ranks, is bred by the profession of arms. Its functions, which have more compass and variety, are more animated and interesting than those of a mechanical trade. The whole detail of military exercise polishes and fashions the body, and even confers the graces, which elevate the mind.

In the breast of a private soldier, accordingly, there often reigns a sense of personal dignity and honour, which scarce ever enters into the mass of the people, and is but rarely to be met with in men of superior affluence and figure.

A certain cast of character and genius adheres to every condition. Different degrees of refinement and civility characterize the various orders of citizens; and the dignity or meanness, annexed to the sphere in which they move is, by no violent transition of imagination, transferred to their immediate

diate, and even to remote descendants, and regarded as appendages to posterity.

Thus families are formed, where men become destined, from birth alone, to occupy, in civil society, more or less exalted stations. Antiquity of family, then, implies a descent from a series of ancestors long separated from the crowd, and exalted to some eminence in the ranks of life.

Now, it will not be denied, that in the first generation, the resemblance of children to parents is often conspicuous in the features, both of body and mind. The one species of resemblance is sometimes conspicuous, where the other is scarcely discernible; and the other species is sometimes no less predominant, where the former subsists in an inferior degree.

These principles, though blended occasionally in their operations, seem to be distinct and independent. Various causes, to us unknown, may interrupt the law of resemblance in the outward form. Various causes, alike unknown, may interrupt the law of resemblance in the moral œconomy. These connections and dependencies we attempt not to explore. We know not how far the character of parents touches the elements of the amorous passion, or diversifies the mode of instinct, so as to affect the progeny of physical love. It is sufficient, if general experience declare such connections to have a foundation in nature.

Admit then, that certain qualities of mind, as well as body, are transmissible in the first generation, and do not terminate there; is there not reason to expect, from the accumulated efforts of the same causes, that some general inheritance may be derived in a course of ages, and consequently, that a greater or less propensity to refinement, to civility, and to the politer arts, may be connected with an illustrious, or more obscure original?

But this species of influence, which is strictly moral, ought to be variable in every country, with the order, the policy, and the arrangements of civil society. It is the genius of popular and free governments to annihilate, in some sort, family distinctions. Citizens, born to equal privileges, and constituted in similar points of exterior rank, will transmit to posterity more equal proportions of the gifts of nature.

Under a more unequal government, where distinctions abound, where there reigns the strongest contrast of circumstances, and where a disparity of condition has been cherished and preserved for ages, the moral diversity will be more conspicuous; and civil distinctions long maintained, will open a source of natural distinctions in succeeding times. Hereditary characteristics, accordingly, attracted the attention of mankind, in some degree, under all the ancient governments.

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A regard to descent, which amounted to a species of idolatry among some nations, has not been altogether exploded in free and popular states. In the Gentoo government of Indostan, the distinction of casts or tribes was never violated by promiscuous commerce. And such was the public solicitude of the Indians, about the future generation, that physical education might be said to commence antecedently to birth. A guardian was appointed for an infant yet unborn; and it was his province to lay down a regimen for the mother, during the months of pregnancy.

The improvement of the race of citizens was a favourite object of Spartan policy. And while with this view, the laws authorized, under certain regulations, a community of wives, they permitted not alliances or intermarriages among the different orders of citizens. Such alliances and intermarriages were also expressly forbidden by the laws of Rome, for upwards of three hundred years.

The free spirit of the Romans, indeed, at last rebelled against such odious distinctions, and opened to every citizen the way to civil honours. Yet the Romans themselves, after so glorious a struggle for privilege, against the usurpations of a proud nobility, testified, in the very moment of victory, their reverence for Patrician blood*.

Imagination surely, in all such cases, influences
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* Tit. Liv, cap. 6, lib. iv.

the judgment of the people ; and while it inclines them so often to bestow unmerited preference, it sometimes elevates the character of the individuals, to whom that preference is given.

Men nobly born are animated with the idea, and think themselves called upon, in a peculiar manner, to emulate the virtues, and to sustain the honours of their name.

“ Et Pater Anchises, et avunculus excitat Hector.”

They feel not what they are but what they ought to be ; till at last, by feeling what they ought to be, they become what they were not. And thus, by reverencing the dignity of ancestors, they learn to assert their own.

There is often an invisible preparation of second causes, which concurs with the civil order of things, in prolonging the honours or even the infamy of a race ; and hereditary characteristics are interwoven into the genius and essence of the mind.

Let us review the condition of a family emerging from rudeness into the dignity of civil life. Let us suppose the founders constituted in a state of independence, and of decent affluence,—graced with every circumstance that can command respect,—improved by all the advantages of moral and of civil culture,—and exalted to a mode of thinking, and of acting, superior to vulgar minds. Some traces of this spirit, we may affirm, without being charged

charged with excessive refinement, are likely to adhere to their immediate progeny.

But, how scanty or latent soever this inheritance may be at first, if the causes are not discontinued, the constitutional effect will be more conspicuous in the second generation. If the former impressions are not effaced, the third generation will have their constitution more strongly impregnated with the same elements; till at last, by happy alliances, and by preserving the line on one side long unbroken, there shall result an association of qualities, which being consolidated into the constitution, form the characteristics of a race.

The same reasoning is easily transferred to a family of an ignoble line. Instead of competence, independence, culture, substitute indigence, servility, rudeness. Extend this allotment over an equal series of posterity, and you will probably reverse all the propensities of nature.

It is only an assemblage of great talents, or the long predominance of some one striking quality, that attracts the observation of the world.

The great qualities of the last Athenian King flourished in the *Archons* for above three hundred years. The daughter of Scipio was mother of the Gracchi. The heroism of the younger Brutus was the heroism of his remote progenitor. The houses of the Publicolæ, the Messalæ, and Valerii, were illustrious for six hundred years. The Decii, retaining

retaining, equally long, their primeval character, attempted the revival of the Roman virtue in the decline of the empire. And, if expectation might be raised upon such foundations, a Briton might almost anticipate some of the actors on the public stage, at some future æra.

Yet we are far from considering birth as the criterion of any one perfection of the mind or body. Neither do we suppose, in general, that an exalted station calls forth the greatest talents, or is most favourable to the growth of moral, or intellectual endowments. Those in the middle ranks of life, in a flourishing and cultivated nation, promise to transmit as fair an inheritance to posterity. The access to refinement, to culture, and to civil honours, which is opened to them in the progress of government, allows them almost every advantage; while they are often exempted from corruptions, which are fostered by superior rank.

In ancient times, when professions were hereditary,—when intermarriages among different classes were not permitted, or were held dishonourable,—when conjugal love was rarely violated, and genealogy was a fashionable science,—hereditary talents would be more observable, and their influence in society more strongly defined.

Upon the whole, it must be admitted, that the character of ancestors has an influence on the line of posterity,—and that a long series of causes, antecedent to birth, has affected, in each individual, not
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only the mechanical and vital springs, but, in some degree also, the constitutional arrangements of his intellectual nature.

The circumstance, therefore, of birth alone, may be regarded as more or less auspicious. It may be allowed, on some occasions, to heighten or to depress expectation; but cannot, without the greatest absurdity, enter farther into the account, or be rendered a topic of exultation or reproach, in the estimation of personal merit.

Iphicrates, an upstart Athenian replied with becoming spirit to a person of noble birth, who had dared to arraign his pedigree, "The honours of my family begin with myself: the honours of yours end in you." How often might those, in a humble sphere, exchange places with men, who sit in the cabinets of kings? How often, as in the Roman government, might we call a dictator from the plough?

The distinction here opened, far from flattering the arrogance, or justifying the usurpations of men, if extended from individuals, and families, to the larger associations of mankind, will help to explain the history of the world, with the least possible violence to the common prerogatives of the species.

A cultivated and polished nation may, in some respects, be regarded as a standing family. The
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one is, relatively to the greater number of the communities of mankind, what the other is, relatively to the greater number of citizens under the same civil œconomy. The conduct of the one, and of the other, towards their supposed inferiors, is often exactly similar. Both carry themselves with equal insolence, and seem alike to forget or to deny the inherent and unalienable rights of the species.

Illustrious rank is no more to be regarded, as a criterion of perfection, in forming the general estimate of nations, than in forming the particular estimate of the several families or members of the same community. The greatest nation is not always blessed with the most equal government, nor adorned with the most accomplished citizens.

The collective wisdom of a people is not to be estimated by that proportion of it, which actuates their public councils, or even by the detail of their civil government. Yet that government is certainly, in onerespect, well constituted, which calls abilities and distinguished worth into public view.

Sir William Temple has pronounced this eulogium on the constitution of the United Provinces of Holland, though rather at the expence of the national character. "Though perhaps the nation," says that writer, "be not generally *wise*, yet the government is, because it is composed of the *wisest* of the nation, which may give it an advantage over many others, where ability is of more common growth

growth, but of less use to the public, if it happens that neither wisdom nor honesty are the qualities, which bring men to the management of state affairs, as they usually do, in this commonwealth."

It is, however, no small point of wisdom to distinguish superior worth; and the men who are disposed to regard with just admiration *noble talents*, are *inferior* only to the men who possess them.

But it may be questioned, whether the happiest periods, even of free governments, are the periods most conducive to the perfections of mankind. Perhaps the highest national, as well as private virtue, is bred in the school of adversity. A nation certainly may derive splendor from those very circumstances, which sink the character of its citizens. The science of mechanics, which is the glory of human reason, has enlarged the abilities, and dignified the aspect of nations. Yet the lower classes of artizans and manufacturers, in most of the civilized governments of modern Europe, who are so instrumental in promoting public opulence and commercial prosperity, may be pronounced to be themselves in a state of intellectual debasement, to which there is scarce any parallel in the history of rude barbarians.

Qualities, which resist for ages the change of government and of climate, must be allowed to be congenial and hereditary to the tribes, among whom they are found to predominate.

Perhaps

Perhaps the history of the Jews furnishes an example of a race, whose peculiar qualities, thus circumstanced, have descended through a long course of generations. No people, it may be affirmed, have ever figured on the theatre of nations, with a destiny so singular as theirs. Their history, whether drawn from sacred or profane records, whether regarded as miraculous, or in the order of nature, affords matter of abundant speculation.

The maxims of their religion and policy preserved them, in all the revolutions of fortune, as a distinct people. After the final dissolution of their government, and dispersion all over the habitable globe, a system of prejudices peculiar to themselves, but directed, in its operations, to fulfil the ends of Providence, has preserved their genealogy and prevented alliances or intermarriages, with any other race.

Certain marks of uniformity are, accordingly, discernible among them in every period. The same spirit, which was so untractable under their own governors, disposed them to mutiny and rebellion, when a Roman province. And, that perverseness of temper, which led them so often to apostacy and to idolatry, when in possession of the true faith, has rendered them tenacious of a false religion.

As numerous, perhaps, at this day, as when a settled nation, the relation of consanguinity, under all the various governments and climates, where
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their lot is cast, marks their character. Yet, had this unfociable people remained in their present possessions, and, without foreign connections or intermarriages, had subsisted under the same political establishment, the most singular, surely, that ever was formed, the lineaments of their character, both of inward and outward form, had, we may well believe, been still more strongly marked.

In general it may be observed, that the confined intercourse of the species tends ultimately to the formation of a peculiar genius and temper. Thus, in the ancient Germans, the uniformity of individuals was as astonishing, as the diversity of all from every other people; and from the singularity of these appearances, the Roman Historian supposes them a pure and distinct race, not derived from Asia, from Africa, from Italy, or from any other region*.

The new hemisphere presented appearances exactly similar. The astonishing resemblance which was there observed among mankind, seems to evidence that it was peopled originally by the same race, and at an æra of no high antiquity. The branches, though widely spread, had probably not been long separated from the common stock; or perhaps a similarity in the modes of life contributed, more than any other cause, throughout that immense

* Tacitus de Mor. German.

menſe continent, to exclude variety in the human ſpecies.

The hiſtory of Hindoſtan, where the *Aborigines* are ſo clearly defined from the other natives of the ſame regions, might be mentioned as another ſtriking example of a genius and conſtitution, which conſanguinity has in part contributed to cheriſh and preſerve for ages.

Thus we may obſerve mankind, eſſentially the ſame, yet in different regions of the globe, varying continually from a fixed ſtandard,—excelling in the rational, in the moral, or in the animal powers,—born with a ſuperior fitneſs for refinement, for arts, for civil culture,—or caſt in a rougher mould,—and by native temper more indocible and wild.

Yet, all the capital diſtinctions in individuals, families, or tribes flow from cauſes ſubſequent to birth,—from education, example, and forms of government,—from the maxims and genius of religion,—from the lights of ſcience and philoſophy,—and, in ſome degree, from the infallible operations of the external elements.

To run the parallel of nations, and decide on their comparative perfections, is not an eaſy taſk; for the appearances in civil life are very often deſuſive.

The manners, and the crimes of illiterate ſavage tribes, are apt enough to appear to us in their full

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dimension and deformity ; but the violations of natural law, among civilized nations, have a solemn varnish of policy, which disguises the enormity of guilt.

The greatness too of a community dazzles the eye, and confers an imaginary value on its members. It eclipses the milder lustre of more humble tribes. Yet the virtue of nations, as of individuals, frequently courts the shade, and the beautiful figure of the poet is equally applicable to both :

“ Full many a flower is born to blush unseen.

“ And waste its sweetness on the desert air.”

History, which ought to be the mistress of human life, affects magnificence, and seems to descend from her dignity, in recording the transactions of little states. She forgets that men may grow less by elevation, and permits the honours of nations to be distributed by the hands of fortune. It is hence the Greeks and Romans are regarded by us, with a veneration so far above all the nations of antiquity. Hence Europe, in modern times, boasts a pre-eminence that seems to insult the rest of the world.

It belongs to reason and philosophy to re-judge mankind ; and, under an endless variety of appearances, more or less equivocal, to observe and

fix the principles which affect, in every age and country, the proportion of human happiness, and of human perfection. Let not nations then, or individuals, regard themselves as single in the creation. Let them view their interests on the largest scale. Let them feel the importance of their station to themselves and to the system,—to their contemporaries, and to future generations,—and let them learn, from the established order of second causes, to respect, to adorn, and to exalt the species.

C H A P. LXXIII.

ON PEACE AND WAR.

THE blessings of peace are too well known to need illustration. Industry, commerce, the fine arts, power, opulence, &c. depend on peace. Has war, then, any thing in store for balancing so substantial blessings? On due consideration, we will find that it has.

Humanity, it must be acknowledged gains nothing from the wars of small states in close neighbourhood. Such wars are brutal and bloody; because they are carried on with bitter enmity against individuals. Thanks to Providence, that war, at present, bears a less savage aspect. We

spare individuals, and make war upon the nation only. Barbarity and cruelty give place to magnanimity, and soldiers are converted from brutes into heroes.

Such wars give exercise to the elevated virtues of courage, generosity and disinterestedness, which are always attended with consciousness of merit and dignity.

C H A P. LXXIV.

THE GENEROUS OFFICER.

IN the war carried on by Louis XII. of France against the Venetians, the town of Brescia, being taken by storm, and abandoned to the soldiers, suffered for seven days all the distresses of cruelty and avarice. No house escaped but that where Chevalier Bayard was lodged. At his entrance, the mistress, a woman of rank, fell at his feet, and deeply sobbing, "Oh! my lord, save my life, save the honour of my daughters."

"Take courage, Madam," said the Chevalier, "your life, and their honour, shall be secure, while I have life."

The two daughters, brought from their hiding place, were presented to him; and the family, reunited, bestowed their whole attention on their deliverer. A dangerous wound he had received

gave them opportunity to express their zeal. They employed an eminent surgeon. They attended him by turns day and night; and when he could bear to be amused, they entertained him with concerts of music.

Upon the day fixed for his departure, the mother said to him, "To your goodness, my Lord, we owe our lives; and to you all we have belongs by right of war. But we hope, from your signal benevolence, that this slight tribute will content you." On saying this, she placed upon the table an iron coffer full of money.

"What is the sum?" said the Chevalier. "My Lord," answered she trembling, "no more but 2500 ducats, all that we have;—but if more be necessary, we will try our friends."

"Madam, says he, "your kindness is more precious in my eyes, than a hundred thousand ducats. Take back your money, and depend always on me."

"My good Lord, you kill me in refusing this small sum. Take it only as a mark of your friendship to my family."

"Well," said he, "since it will oblige you, I take the money; but give me the satisfaction of bidding adieu to your amiable daughters."

They came to him with looks of regard and affection. "Ladies," said he, "the impression you

have made on my heart, will never wear out. What return to make I know not, for men of my profession are seldom opulent. But here are 2500 ducats, of which the generosity of your mother has given me the disposal. Accept them as a marriage present; and may your happiness in marriage equal your merit."

"Flower of chivalry," cried the mother; "May the God, who rules the universe, reward you here and hereafter." Can peace afford so sweet a scene!

C H A P. LXXV.

AN AFFECTING INCIDENT.

THE following incident is still more interesting. It is of a late date among our countrymen; and will, for that reason, make the deeper impression. The scene of action was in Admiral Watson's ship, at the siege of Chandernagore, where Captain Speke, and his son, a youth of sixteen, were both wounded by the same shot.

The history is related by Mr. Ives, surgeon of the ship; which follows in his own words, only a little abridged.

The Captain, whose leg was hanging by the skin, said to the Admiral, "Indeed, Sir, this was a cruel shot, to knock down both father and son."

Mr.

Mr. Watson's heart was too full for a reply ; he only ordered both to be carried down to the surgeon.

The Captain, who was first brought down, told me how dangerously his Billy had been wounded. Presently after, the brave youth himself appeared, with his eyes overflowing with tears, not for himself, but for his father.

Upon my assurance, that his father's wound was not dangerous, he became calm ; but refused to be touched, till his father's wound should be first dressed. Then pointing to a fellow-sufferer, " Pray, Sir, dress also that poor man, who is groaning so sadly beside me."

I told him, that the man had already been taken care of ; and begged that I now might have liberty to examine his wound. He submitted ; and calmly said, " Sir, I fear you must amputate above the joint." I replied, " My dear, I must."

He clasped his hands together ; and, lifting up his eyes toward heaven, he offered up the following short, but earnest petition : " Good God ! do thou enable me to behave, in my present circumstances, worthy of my father."

He then told me he was all submission. I performed the operation above the joint of the knee ; and, during the whole time, the intrepid youth never spoke a word, nor uttered a groan that could be heard at the distance of a yard.

It is easier to imagine, than to express the feelings of the father at this time. But, whatever he felt, tears were the only expression. Both of them were carried to Calcutta. The father was lodged in the house of his brother-in-law; and the son was placed with me in the hospital.

For the first week I gave comfort to both, carrying good tidings to them of one another. But alas! all the good symptoms, that had attended the young man, began to disappear. The Captain perceived all in my countenance; and, so unwilling was he to add to my distress, as seldom to speak about his son.

One time he said, "How long, my friend, do you think my Billy may remain in a state of uncertainty?" I replied, that, if he survived the fifteenth day after the operation, there would be strong hopes of his recovery.

On the thirteenth he died; and, on the sixteenth, the Captain, looking me stedfastly in the face, "Well, Ives, how fares it with my boy?" Discovering the truth from my silence, he cried bitterly, squeezed my hand, and begged me to leave him for one half-hour. When I returned, he appeared, as he ever after did, perfectly calm and serene.

The excellent youth had been delirious the evening before his death; and, at two o'clock in the morning, he sent me a note written with a pencil,
of

of which the following is a copy. " Mr. Ives will consider the disorder a son must be in, when he is dying, and is yet in doubt about his father.— If Mr. Ives is not too busy to honour this note, which nothing but the greatest uneasiness could draw from me—The boy waits an answer."

I immediately repaired to him; and he had still sense enough to know me. He then said, " And is he dead?—" " Who, my dear ?"—" My father, Sir."—" No, my love; nor is he in any danger; he is almost well."—" I thank God: I am now satisfied, and am ready to die."

He had a locked jaw, and was in great pain, but I understood every word he uttered. He begged my pardon for having disturbed me at so early an hour; and, before the day was ended, he surrendered a life that deserved to be immortal.

" Does peace afford any scene," says Lord Kaimes, " that can compare with this, in moving our sympathetic feelings?"

CHAP. LXXVI.

A COMPARISON BETWEEN WAR AND PEACE.

FRIENDSHIP is, in peace, cool and languid ; but, in a war for glory, exerts the whole fire of its enthusiasm.

The long and bloody war, sustained by the Netherlanders, against the tyrant of Spain, made even Dutchmen heroes. They forced their way to the Indies, during the hottest period of the war ; and gained, by commerce, what supported them against their ferocious enemy.

What have they gained since by peace ? Their immense commerce has eradicated patriotism, and every appetite but wealth. Had their violated rights been restored without a struggle, they would have continued a nation of frogs and fishermen.

The Swiss, by continual struggles for liberty, against the potent house of Austria, became a brave and active people. Their federal union has secured to them peace and tranquility ; which, notwithstanding their mountainous situation, would have sunk them into effeminacy, but for a commerce they carry on of hiring out their men for soldiers.

Monks are commonly pusillanimous. Their way of life, which removes them from danger, enervates the mind, and renders them spiritless and cowardly.

Industry.

Industry, manufactures, and wealth are the fruits of peace. But advert to what follows. Luxury, a never-failing concomitant of wealth, is a slow poison, that debilitates men, and renders them incapable of any great effort. Courage, magnanimity, and heroism, come to be ranked among the miracles, that are supposed never to have existed but in fable; and the fashionable propensities of sensuality, avarice, cunning, and dissimulation, engross the mind. In a word, man, by constant prosperity and peace, degenerates into a mean, impotent, and selfish animal.

War serves to drain the country of idlers, few of whom are innocent, and many not a little mischievous. In the years 1759 and 1760, when we were at war with France, there were but twenty-nine criminals condemned at the Old Bailey. In the years 1770 and 1771, when we were at peace with all the world, the criminals condemned there amounted to one hundred and fifty-one.

War, however, when not under proper regulations, is a dreadful thing. The condition of Europe was deplorable in the dark ages, when vassals assumed the privilege of waging war, without consent of the sovereign. Deadly feuds prevailed universally, and threatened dissolution of all government. The human race never were in a more woeful condition.

But anarchy never fails, soon or late, to rectify itself, which effeminacy, produced by long peace,

never does. Revenge and cruelty, it is true, are the fruits of war. So likewise are firmness of mind and undaunted courage; which are exerted with better will, in behalf of virtue, than of revenge.

The crusades gave a new turn to the fierce manners of our ancestors. A religious enterprise, uniting numbers formerly at variance, enlarged the sphere of social affection, and sweetened the manners of Christians to one another.

These crusades filled Europe with heroes, who, at home, were ready for any new enterprise, that promised laurels.

Moved with the horror of deadly feuds, they joined in bonds of chivalry, for succouring the distressed, for redressing wrongs, and for protecting widows and orphans. Such heroism inflamed every one, who was fond of glory and warlike achievements. Chivalry was relished by men of birth; and even kings were proud to be of the order.

An institution, blending together valour, religion, and gallantry, was wonderfully agreeable to a martial people; and humanity and gentleness could not but prevail in a society, whose profession it was to succour every person in distress. As glory and honour were the only wished for recompence, chivalry was esteemed the school of honour, of truth, and of fidelity.

It is true, that the enthusiasm of protecting widows and orphans, degenerated sometimes into

extravagance ; witness knights, who wandered about in quest of adventures. But it would be unfair to condemn the whole order, because a few of their number were extravagant. The true spirit of chivalry produced a signal reformation in the manners of Europe. To what other cause can we so justly ascribe the point of honour, and that humanity in war, which characterize modern manners ?* Are peace, luxury, and selfishness, capable of producing such effects ?

Upon the whole, perpetual war is bad, because it converts men into beasts of prey. Perpetual peace is no better, because it converts men into beasts of burden. To prevent such woeful degeneracy on both hands, war and peace alternately are the only effectual means ; and these means are adopted by Providence.

* Dr. Robertson's History of Charles V.

C H A P. LXXVII.

ON THE VIGOUR OF MIND, WHICH THE ENGLISH CONSTITUTION INSPIRES.

MONTESQUIEU, in a warm panegyric on the English constitution, has overlooked one particular in which it is superior to every other monarchy ; and that is, the frequent opportunities it affords to exert mental powers and talents. What agitation among the candidates, and their electors, on the approach of a new parliament ! What freedom of speech and eloquence in parliament ! Ministers and their measures are laid open to the world, the nation is kept alive, and inspired with a vigour of mind that tends to heroism !

This government, it is true, generates factions, which sometimes generate revolutions. But the golden age, so lusciously described by poets, would to man be worse than an iron age. At any rate, it is better to have a government liable to storms, than to seek for quiet in the dead calm of despotism.

“ Many writers,” says a profound politician,* “ have said a great deal on those factions which destroyed Rome. But they want the penetration to see, that those factions were necessary ; that they had always subsisted, and ever must have subsisted. It

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* Montesquieu.

was the grandeur of the state, which alone occasioned the evil, and changed into civil wars the tumults of the people. There must of necessity have been factions in Rome: for, how was it possible, that those who abroad subdued all by their undaunted bravery, and by the terror of their arms, should live in peace and moderation at home? To look for a people, in a free state, who are intrepid in war, and, at the same time, timid in peace, is to look for an impossibility; and we may hold it as a general rule, that, in a state which professes a republican form of government, if the people are quiet and peaceable, there is no real liberty."

CHAP. LXXVIII.

ON PATRIOTISM.

IT is so ordered by providence, that a man's country and his countrymen, are to him, in conjunction, an object of a peculiar affection, termed *amor patriæ*, or patriotism. This affection rises very high among a people intimately connected by regular government, by husbandry, by commerce, and by a common interest,

"Our parents," says an agreeable writer, "are dear to us; so are our children, our relations, and our friends. All these our country comprehends; and shall we fear to die for our country?"

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In a man of a solitary disposition, who avoids society, patriotism cannot abound. He may possibly have no hatred to his countrymen : but, were he desirous to see them happy, he would live among them, and put himself in the way of doing good.

The affection a man has for the place he was bred in, ought to be distinguished from patriotism, being a passion far inferior, and chiefly visible in the low people.

A rustic has few ideas but of external sense. His hut, his wife, his children, the hills, trees, and rivulets around him, compose the train of his ideas. Remove him from these objects, and he finds a dismal vacuity in his mind.

History, poetry, and other subjects of literature, have no relation to time nor place. Horace is as much relished in a foreign country, as at home. The pleasures of conversation depend on persons, not on place.

CHAP. LXXIX.

ON PATRIOTISM, AS BEING FAVOURABLE TO
VIRTUE.

NO source of enjoyment is more plentiful, than that of patriotism, where it is the ruling passion. It triumphs over every selfish motive, and is a firm support to every virtue. In fact, wherever it prevails, the morals of the people are found to be pure and correct.

There is, perhaps, only one bad effect of real patriotism. It is apt to inspire too great partiality for our countrymen. This is excusable in the vulgar, but unbecoming in men of rank and figure.

The Duke de Montmorenci, after a victory, treated his prisoners with great humanity. He yielded his bed to Don Martin of Arragon, sent his surgeon to dress his wounds, and visited him daily. That Lord, amazed at so great humanity, said one day to the Duke, " Sir, were you a Spaniard, you would be the greatest man in the universe." One is rather sorry to hear it objected to the English, that they have too much of the Spaniard in their sentiments.

C H A P. LXXX.

ON PATRIOTISM, AS THE BULWARK OF
LIBERTY.

PATRIOTISM is the great bulwark of civil liberty, equally abhorrent of despotism on the one hand, and of licentiousness on the other.

While the despotic government of the Tudor family subsisted, the English were too much depressed to have any affection for their country. But when manufactures and commerce began to flourish, in the latter end of Elizabeth's reign, a national spirit broke forth, and patriotism made some figure. That change of disposition was perhaps the chief cause, though not the most visible, of the national struggles for liberty, which were frequent during the government of the Stewart family, and which ended in a free government at the Revolution.

Patriotism is too much cramped in a very small state, and too much relaxed in an extensive monarchy. It is inflamed by a struggle for liberty, by a civil war, by resisting a potent invader, or by any incident that forcibly draws the members of a state into strict union for the common interest.

The resolute opposition of the Dutch to Philip II. of Spain, in the cause of liberty, is an illustrious instance of the patriotic spirit rising to a degree of enthusiasm.

Patriotism,

Patriotism, roused among the Corsicans by the oppression of the Genoese, exerted itself upon every proper object. Even during the heat of the war, they erected an university for arts and sciences, a national bank, and a national library. These improvements would not have been thought of in their torpid state. Alas! they have fallen a victim to thirst of power, not to superior valour. Had providence favoured them with success, their figure would have been as considerable in peace, as in war.

The elevation of sentiment, that a struggle for liberty inspires, is conspicuous in the following incident. A Corsican being condemned to die for an atrocious crime, his nephew, with deep concern, addressed Paoli in the following terms. "Sir, if you pardon my uncle, his relations will give to the state a thousand zechins, and will furnish besides fifty soldiers, during the siege of Furiali. Let him be banished, and he shall never return." Paoli, knowing the virtue of the young man, said, "You are acquainted with the circumstances of the case: I will consent to a pardon, if you can say as an honest man, that it will be just or honourable for Corsica." The young man, hiding his face, burst into tears, saying, "I would not have the honour of our country sold for a thousand zechins."

C H A P. LXXXI.

ON EMULATION AS AFFECTING PATRIOTISM.

THERE is a great intricacy in human actions. Though men are indebted to emulation for their heroic actions, yet such actions never fail to suppress emulation in those who follow. A person of superior genius, who damps emulation in others, is a fatal obstruction to the progress of an art ;— witness the celebrated Newton, to whom the decay of mathematical knowledge in Britain is justly attributed.

The observation holds equally, with respect to action. Those actions only, which flow from patriotism, are deemed grand and heroic ; and such actions, above all others, rouse a national spirit. But beware of a Newton in heroism. Instead of exciting emulation, he will damp it. Despair to equal those great men, who are the admiration of all the world, puts an end to emulation.

After the illustrious achievements, and after the eminent patriotism of Aristides, we hear no more in Greece of emulation or of patriotism. Pericles was a man of parts, but he sacrificed Athens to his ambition. The Athenians sunk lower and lower under the Archons, who had neither parts, nor patriotism ; and were reduced at last

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to slavery, first by the Macedonians, and next by the Romans. The Romans ran the same course, from the highest exertions of patriotic emulation, down to the most abject selfishness, and effeminacy.

C H A P. LXXXII.

ON THE EFFECT OF FACTION ON PATRIOTISM.

FACTIOUS disorders in a state never fail to relax it; for there the citizen is lost, and every person is beheld in the narrow view of a friend or an enemy.

In the contests between the Patricians and Plebeians of Rome, the public was totally disregarded. The Plebeians could have no heart-affection for a country where they were oppressed; and the Patricians might be fond of their own order, but they could not sincerely love their country, while they were enemies to the bulk of their countrymen. Patriotism did not shine forth in Rome, till all equally became citizens.

Between the union of the two crowns of England and Scotland, and that of the kingdoms, Scotland was greatly depressed. It was governed by a foreign king. The nobility were tyrants, and the
low

low people were poor and dispirited. There was no patriotism among the former; and as little among the latter. Hence it appears, that the opposition, in Scotland, to the union of the two kingdoms, was absurdly impolitic. The opposition ought to have been against the union of the two crowns, in order to prevent the government of a foreign prince. After being reduced to dependence on another nation, the only remedy was to become one people, by an union of the kingdoms.

C H A P. LXXXIII.

ON THE EFFECT OF RICHES ON PATRIOTISM.

SUCCESSFUL commerce is not more advantageous, by the wealth and power it immediately bestows, than it is ultimately hurtful, by introducing luxury and voluptuousness, which eradicate patriotism.

In the capital of a great monarchy, the poison of opulence is sudden; because opulence there is seldom acquired by reputable means. The poison of commercial opulence is slow, because commerce seldom enriches without industry, sagacity, and fair dealing.

But

But by whatever means it is acquired, opulence never fails, soon or late, to smother patriotism under sensuality and selfishness.

We learn from Plutarch and other writers, that the Athenians who had long enjoyed the sunshine of commerce, were extremely corrupt in the days of Philip, and of his son Alexander. Even their chief patriot and orator, a professed champion for independence, was not proof against bribes.

While Alexander was prosecuting his conquests in India, Harpalus, to whom his immense treasure was intrusted, fled with the whole to Athens. Demosthenes advised his fellow-citizens to expel him, that they might not incur Alexander's displeasure. Among other things of value, there was the King's cup of massy gold, curiously engraved. Demosthenes, surveying it with a greedy eye asked Harpalus what it weighed. To you, said Harpalus smiling, it shall weigh twenty talents; and that very night, he sent privately to Demosthenes, twenty talents with the cup. Demosthenes next day, came into the assembly with a cloth rolled about his neck, and, his opinion being demanded about Harpalus, he made signs that he had lost his voice.

The Portuguese, inflamed with love to their country, having discovered a passage to the Indies by the Cape of Good Hope, made great and important settlements in that very distant part of the globe. Of their immense commerce there, we
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can scarce find a parallel in any age or country. Prodigious riches in gold, precious stones, spices, perfumes, drugs, and manufactures, were annually imported into Lisbon, from their settlements on the coasts of Malabar and Coromandel, from the kingdoms of Camboya, Decan, Malacca, Patana, Siam, China, and from the islands of Ceylon, Sumatra, Java, Borneo, Moluccas, and Japan. To Lisbon all the nations in Europe resorted for these valuable commodities.

But the downfall of the Portuguese was no less rapid, than their exaltation. Unbounded power, and immense wealth, soon produced a total corruption of manners. If sincere piety, exalted courage, and indefatigable industry, made the original adventurers more than men; indolence, sensuality and effeminacy, rendered their successors less than women. Unhappy it was for them to be attacked, at that critical time, by the Dutch, who, in defence of liberty against the tyranny of Spain, were inflamed with love to their country.

The Dutch, originally, from their situation, a temperate and industrious people, became heroes in the cause of liberty; and patriotism was their ruling passion. Prosperous commerce diffused wealth through every corner; and yet such was the inherent virtue of that people, that their patriotism resisted, for a very long time, the contagion of wealth. But, as the appetite for riches increases
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with their quantity, patriotism sunk in proportion, till it was totally extinguished; and, now the Dutch never think of their country, unless as subservient to private interest.

With respect to the Dutch East India company in particular, it was indebted for its prosperity to the fidelity and frugality of its servants, and to the patriotism of all. But these virtues were undermined, and at last eradicated, by luxury, which Europeans seldom resist in a hot climate. People go from Europe in the service of the company, bent beforehand to make their fortune *per fas aut nefas**; and their distance from their masters renders every check abortive.

The decay of the power and commerce of the Portuguese hath reduced them to a much lower state, than when they rose as it were, out of nothing. At that time they were poor, but innocent. At present they are poor, but corrupted with many vices. Their pride, in particular, swells as high, as when they were masters of the Indies.

There is one obvious measure for reviving the Portuguese trade in India; but they have not so much vigour of mind remaining, as even to think of it. They still possess, in that country, the town and territory of Goa, the town and territory of Diu, with some other ports, all admirably situated for trade. What stands in the way but indolence merely, against declaring the

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places

* By right or wrong.

places mentioned free ports, with liberty of conscience to traders of whatever religion? Free traders flocking there, under the protection of the Portuguese, would undermine the Dutch and English companies, which cannot trade upon an equal footing with private merchants; and by that means, the Portuguese trade might again flourish. But that people are not yet brought so low as to be compelled to change their manners, though reduced to depend on their neighbours, even for common necessities.

The gold and diamonds of Brasil, are a plague that corrupt all. Spain and Portugal afford useful political lessons. The latter has been ruined by opulence; the former by taxes, no less impolitic than oppressive.

To enable these nations to recommence their former course, or any other nation in the same condition, no mean can prove effectual, but pinching poverty. Commerce and manufactures, taking wing, may leave a country in a very distressed condition. But a people may be very distressed, and yet very vicious; for vices generated by opulence are not soon eradicated. And, though other vices should at last vanish with the temptations that promoted them, indolence and pusillanimity will remain for ever, unless by some powerful cause the opposite virtues, be introduced.

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A very poor man, however indolent, will be tempted, for bread, to exert some activity; and he may be trained gradually from less to more by the same means. Activity, at the same time, produces bodily strength, which will restore courage and boldness. By such means a nation may be put in motion, with the same advantages it had originally; and its second progress may prove as successful as the first.

Thus nations go round in a circle. The first part of the progress is verified in a thousand instances; but the world has not subsisted long enough to afford any clear instance of the other.

A gentleman, who lately resided a considerable time at Lisbon, for the sake of his health, gives a very humiliating account of the Portuguese nation, in the following letter, "Nothing but ocular demonstration could have convinced me, that the human species may be depraved to the degree that is exemplified in this country. Whether with regard to politics, morals, arts, or social intercourse, it is equally defective. In short, excepting the mere elementary benefits of earth and air, this country is in the lowest state. Will you believe that I found not a single man, who could inform me of the price of land;—very few, who had any notion, to what value the product of their country extends, or of its colonies;—and not one, able to

point out the means of reviving Portugal from its present desponding condition.

With respect to a general plan of legislation, there is none ; unless the caprices of an ignorant despot may be termed such, or the projects of a designing minister, constantly, endeavouring to depress the nobility, and to beggar the other orders of the state. This the Marquis Pombal has at length completed. He has left the crown possessed of a third part of the landed property, the church enjoying another third, and the remainder only in possession of an indigent nobility and their vassals. He has subjected every branch of commerce to ministerial emoluments, and fixed judicial proceedings, both civil and criminal, on the fluctuating basis of his own interest or inclination.

Take an instance of their law. A small proprietor having land adjoining to, or intermixed with, the land of a great proprietor, is obliged to sell his possession, if the other wishes to have it. In the case of several competitors to the succession of land, it is the endeavour of each to seize the possession, well knowing that possession is commonly held the best title ; and, at any rate, that there is no claim for rents, during the time of litigation.

All the corn growing in Estremadura must be sold at Lisbon. A tenth of all sales, rents, wages, &c.

&c. goes to the King. These instances are, I think, sufficient to give a notion of the present state of the kingdom, and of the merits of Pombal, who has long had the reins in his hands as first minister, and who may justly boast of having freed his countrymen from the dread of becoming more wretched than they are at present. "I am," &c.

C H A P. LXXXIV.

AN ILLUSTRIOUS EXAMPLE OF PATRIOTISM, IN A NEGRO PRINCE.

SUCH regard is paid to the royal blood in Fouli, a negro kingdom of Africa, that no man can succeed to the crown, but one who is connected with the first monarch, by an uninterrupted chain of females. A connection by males would give no security, as the women of that country are prone to gallantry.

In the last century, the Prince of Sambaboa, the King's nephew by his sister, was invested with the dignity of Kamalingo, a dignity appropriated to the presumptive heir. A liberal and generous mind, with undaunted courage, rivetted him in the affections of the nobility and people. They rejoiced in the expectation of having him for their King. But their expectation was blasted. The

King, fond of his children, ventured a bold measure, which was to invest his eldest son with the dignity of Kamalingo, and to declare him heir to the crown. Though the prince of Sambaboa had, in his favour, the laws of the kingdom, and the hearts of the people, yet he retired in silence to avoid a civil war. He could not, however, prevent men of rank from flocking to him; which, being interpreted a rebellion, the King raised an army, vowing to put them all to the sword.

As the King advanced, the Prince retired, resolving not to draw his sword against an uncle, whom he was accustomed to call father. But, finding that the command of the army was bestowed on his rival, he made ready for battle. The Prince obtained a complete victory; but his heart was not elated. The horrors of a civil war stared him in the face. He bid farewell to his friends, dismissed his army, and retired into a neighbouring kingdom; relying on the affections of his people to be placed on the throne after his uncle's death.

During his banishment, which continued thirty tedious years, frequent attempts upon his life put his temper to a severe trial; for, while he existed, the king had no hopes that his son would reign in peace. He had the fortitude to surmount every trial; when, in the year 1702, beginning to yield
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to age and misfortunes, his uncle died. His cousin was deposed ; and he was called, by the unanimous voice of the nobles, to reign over a people who adored him.

C H A P. LXXXV.

ON THE DISADVANTAGES OF A GREAT CITY.

IN all ages an opinion has been prevalent, that a great city is a great evil ; and that a capital may be too great for the state, as a head may be for the body.

People born and bred in a great city are commonly weak and effeminate. Vegetius observing, that men bred to husbandry make the best soldiers, adds what follows. “ But sometimes there is a necessity for arming the townspeople, and calling them out to service. When this is the case, it ought to be the first care, to inure them to labour, to march them up and down the country, to make them carry heavy burdens, and to harden them against the weather. Their food should be coarse and scanty, and they should be habituated to sleep alternately in their tents, and in the open air. Then is the time to instruct them in the exercise of their arms. If the expedition is a distant one, they should be chiefly employed in the stations of posts

or expresse, and removed as much as possible from the dangerous allurements that abound in large cities ; that thus they may be invigorated both in mind and body."

The luxury of a great city descends from the highest to the lowest, infecting all ranks of men ; and there is little opportunity in it for such exercise, as to render the body vigorous and robust.

With regard to morality ; virtue is exerted chiefly in restraint, and vice, in giving freedom to desire. Moderation and self-command form a character the most susceptible of virtue. Superfluity of animal spirits, and love of pleasure, form a character the most liable to vice. Low vices, pilfering for example, or lying, draw few or no imitators ; but vices, that indicate a soul above restraint, produce many admirers.

Where a man boldly struggles against unlawful restraint, he is justly applauded and imitated ; and the vulgar are not apt to distinguish nicely between lawful and unlawful restraint. The boldness is visible, and they pierce no deeper. It is the unruly boy, full of animal spirits, who at public school is admired and imitated ; not the virtuous and modest.

Vices, accordingly, that show spirit, are extremely infectious ; virtue very little so. Hence the corruption of a great city, which increases
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more and more, in porportion to the number of inhabitants.

When considered in a political light, a great town is a professed enemy to the free circulation of money. The current coin is accumulated in the capital, and distant provinces must sink into distress; for without ready money, neither arts nor manufactures can flourish. Thus we find less and less activity, in proportion commonly to the distance from the capital; and an absolute torpor in the extremities.

The city of Milan affords a good proof of this observation. The money that the Emperor of Germany draws from it in taxes is carried to Vienna. Not a farthing is left, but what is barely sufficient to defray the expence of government.

Manufactures and commerce have gradually declined in proportion to the scarcity of money; and the above mentioned city, which, in the last century, contained 300,000 inhabitants, cannot now muster above 90,000.

Money, accumulated in the capital raises the price of labour. The temptation of high wages, in a great city, robs the country of its best hands. And, as they who resort to the capital are commonly young people, who remove as soon as they are fit for work, distant provinces are burdened with their maintenance, without reaping any benefit by their labour.

But the worst effect of a great city, is the preventing of population, by shortening the lives of its inhabitants. Does a capital swell in proportion to the numbers that are drained from the country ? Far from it. The air of a populous city is infected by multitudes crouded together ; and people there seldom make out the usual time of life.

With respect to London in particular, the fact cannot be dissembled. The burials in that immense city greatly exceed the births. The difference, some affirm, to be no less than 10,000 yearly. By the most moderate computation, it is not under seven or eight thousand. As London is far from being on the decline, that number must be supplied by the country ; and the annual supply amounts probably to a greater number, than were wanted annually for recruiting our armies and navies in the late war with France. If so, London is a greater enemy to population, than a bloody war would be, supposing it even to be perpetual. What an enormous tax is Britain thus subjected to for supporting her capital ! The rearing and educating yearly, for London, seven or eight thousand persons, require an immense sum.

In Paris, if the bills of mortality can be relied on, the births and burials are nearly equal, being each of them about 19,000 yearly ; and, according to that computation, Paris should need no recruits

recruits from the country. But in that city, the bills of mortality cannot be depended on for burials. It is there the universal practice, both of high and low, to have their infants nursed in the country, till they be three years of age; and consequently those who die before that age, are not registered. What proportion these bear to the whole is uncertain. But a conjecture may be made from such as die in London, before the age of three, which are computed to be one half of the whole that die*.

Now, giving the utmost allowance for the healthiness of the country, above that of a town, children from Paris that die in the country, before the age of three, cannot be brought so low, as a third of those who die.

On the other hand, the London bills of mortality are less to be depended on for births, than for burials. None are registered but infants baptised by clergymen of the English church. The numerous children, therefore, of Papists, Dissenters, and other sectaries, are generally left out of the account.

Giving full allowance, however, for children, who are not brought into the London bills of mortality, there is the highest probability, that a greater number of children are born in Paris, than in London; and consequently, that the former requires fewer recruits from the country than the

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latter.

latter. In Paris, domestic servants are encouraged to marry. They are observed to be more settled than when bachelors, and more attentive to their duty. In London, such marriages are discouraged, as rendering a servant more attentive to his own family, than to that of his master. But a servant, attentive to his own family, will not, for his own sake, neglect that of his master. At any rate, is he not more to be depended on, than a servant, who continues single? What can be expected of idle and pampered bachelors, but dissipated and irregular lives.

The poor-laws, in England, have often been called the folio of corruption. Bachelor-servants in London, then, may well be considered as a large appendix. The poor-laws indeed make the chief difference between Paris and London, with respect to the present point.

In Paris, certain funds are established for the poor, the yearly produce of which admits but a limited number. As that fund is always pre-occupied, the low people who are not on the list, have little or no prospect of bread, but from their own industry; and to the industrious, marriage is in a great measure necessary.

In London, a parish is taxed, in proportion to the number of its poor; and every person, who is pleased to be idle, is entitled to maintenance. Most things thrive by encouragement, and idleness
above

above all. Certainty of maintenance, renders the low people in England idle and profligate; especially in London, where luxury prevails, and infects every rank. So insolent are the London poor, that scarce one of them will condescend to eat brown bread. There are accordingly, in London, a much greater number of idle and profligate wretches, than in Paris, or in any other town, in proportion to the number of inhabitants. "These wretches," in Doctor Swift's style, "never think of posterity, because posterity never thinks of them." Men who hunt after pleasure, and live from day to day, have no notion of submitting to the burden of a family.

Another objection to an overgrown capital is, that by numbers and riches, it has a distressing influence in public affairs. The populace are ductile, and easily misled by ambitious and designing magistrates. Nor are there wanting critical times, in which such magistrates, acquiring artificial influence, may have power to disturb the public peace. That an overgrown capital may prove dangerous to sovereignty, has more than once been experienced both in Paris and London.

The French and English are often zealously disputing about the extent of their capitals, as if the prosperity of their country depended on that circumstance. It would be as rational to glory in any contagious distemper. They would be much better employed, in contriving means for lessening these cities.

cities. There is not a political measure that would tend more to aggrandize the kingdom of France, or of Britain, than to split their capitals into several great towns.

With regard to London,* my plan would be to limit the inhabitants to 100,000, composed of the King and his household, supreme courts of justice, government-boards, prime nobility and gentry, with necessary shop-keepers, artists, and other dependents. Let the rest of the inhabitants be distributed into nine towns properly situated, some for internal commerce, some for foreign. Such a plan would diffuse life and vigour through every corner of the island.

The two great cities of London and Westminster are extremely ill fitted for local union. The latter, the seat of government and of the noblesse, infects the former with luxury, and with love of show. The former, the seat of commerce, infects the latter with love of gain. The mixture of these opposite passions is productive of every groveling vice.

* Lord Kaimes.

CHAP. LXXXVI.

ON AGRICULTURE.

THAT we are slaves to fashion, is an old observation, and unfortunately for us it is a very true one. That spirit of levity and inconstancy, which produces continual changes in our manners and morals, is no longer confined to the limits of France, its native country. It has diffused itself over all Europe. It has infected almost all nations.

Fashion, when it is content to regulate the exterior and frivolous, is a matter of great indifference with respect to morality. But it now no longer confines itself within that sphere. It extends its empire over the arts and sciences. If a few geniuses chance to acquire reputation by any particular branch of knowledge, people, in general, immediately apply themselves to it, without considering whether it deserves the pains they bestow upon it.

We have seen the reigns of deep erudition, wit, and geometry, pass successively away. That of philosophy, and particularly natural philosophy, rules the present age. When those transient reigns are over, one is often surprised at the high value set upon certain parts of knowledge, which, in fact, deserve but a moderate esteem.

There

There cannot be a stronger proof of the unreasonableness of these vicissitudes, than what has happened to the most necessary and most useful of arts, agriculture.

Among the Gothic remains of a military government, we prized only the talents calculated for war. Husbandry was abandoned to a set of degraded slaves, whose low condition cast a reflection on the very occupations they exercised.

In the time of a polite court, the mistaken delicacy of a courtier immersed in effeminacy, despised every thing that did not bear the stamp of that refined luxury, which was the characteristic of the age. Nothing was more ridiculous than a country gentleman. Nothing terrified the nobility more, than the sad necessity of retiring to their country seats, and inspecting the culture of their lands. A man who is sensible that he is blest with sufficient talents, and who has opportunities of serving his country, would doubtless neglect his duty, in burying himself in a rural retreat.

Of late years, the public seem to discard those unjust prejudices. Philosophers study agriculture, and meet with encouragement from the great. But, as men are fond of extremes, too great a stress is perhaps laid upon this art, and too much expected from its improvement. We have authors, who preach up nothing but agriculture; who declaim against philosophy, literature, the fine arts, manufactures,

factures, and commerce, and who reduce almost every class of men to that of farmers; who propose the establishment of academies, with the appointment of even ministers of state, whose sole employment should be on objects of husbandry.

By following those sentiments in their extremes, we should soon see the ages of barbarism return. With a taste turned to agriculture only, and with that military system, which prevails in Europe, we should soon be a troop of Goths and Vandals.

The happiness of a people does not require every class of them to devote themselves to husbandry. It is sufficient, if they, who are destined to it, meet with protection, and encouragement.

C H A P. LXXXVII.

OF AGRICULTURE AMONG THE ANCIENTS.

AGRICULTURE was held in high esteem by the ancients. Not to speak of those early ages, when a gross simplicity rendered people insensible to the charms of the pleasing arts, and suffered them to exercise only the necessary ones; we find, in the most enlightened ages, works upon husbandry, composed by the greatest men, whose high station proves the value that was set upon the art they taught.

Xenophon,

Xenophon, equally distinguished in philosophy as in arms, read, in the middle of Athens, lectures on agriculture. Hiero, king of Syracuse, did not think it beneath himself to instruct his subjects, by writing upon so useful an art. The chiefs of the two greatest republics in the world, Cato of Rome, and Mago of Carthage, are, in the opinion of the ancients, the most celebrated writers upon this subject.

Amidst the Asiatic luxury, and that of the Roman empire, we find valuable treatises upon husbandry, composed by Attalus, king of Pergamus, by Archelaus, king of Cappadocia, by Valerius Asiaticus, a man judged worthy of the empire after the death of Caligula, and by the emperor Albinus. The Romans were more interested in the progress of agriculture, than any other nation in the world. Italy, covered with the vast and superb villas of the great men of Rome, and peopled with an immense number of inhabitants, enjoyed only a precarious subsistence. She was forced to draw the necessaries of life from the neighbouring provinces, when her fields could no longer maintain her inhabitants.

Several events taught the Romans the advantages of a country, which receives its sustenance from its own soil. The younger Pompey, by making himself master of Sicily, reduced Augustus to the brink of ruin; and that emperor, sensible of the importance of the granaries of Italy, made a law, where-

by

by he forbad the senators to enter into Egypt. A contrary wind, or a storm, which prevented the arrival of ships with corn, made the masters of the world tremble for their lives. The least revolt would have starved them. This precarious subsistence of some provinces, was perhaps one reason of the amazing weakness of the Roman empire, which rendered it a prey to swarms of the northern barbarians.

The depopulation of the Roman provinces, occasioned by those destructive invasions, was as fatal to agriculture, as to the rest of the arts and sciences. Those conquering barbarians were either shepherds, or huntsmen, like the present Tartars and the savages of America. They contented themselves with enjoying, without labour or trouble, vast desarts which they acquired by their arms. They cultivated, superficially only, a spot of ground near their habitations.

The revival of the arts, and the increase of commerce, augmented by degrees the number of the inhabitants of Europe. Large cities were built. Pastures, cattle, and hunting, being no longer sufficient to maintain the now numerous people, it was found necessary to return to husbandry, to clear the forests, and plow up the heaths, and commons.

C H A P. LXXXVIII.

OF AGRICULTURE AMONG THE MODERNS.

AFTER the peace of Aix-la-Chapelle, numbers of ingenious men turned their thoughts towards natural history, and to perfect arts and agriculture.

The Swedes, who inhabit a country naturally barren in its soil, cramped, and confined in its trade, have made successful efforts to correct the defects of their northern climate. The memoirs of Stockholm will be an everlasting monument of the patriotic spirit of the greatest and most illustrious personages, in that magnanimous nation.

In France, philosophers have made experiments in husbandry, to which their sovereign, like the emperor of China, has vouchsafed to lend his assistance. The greatest men in the kingdom have interested themselves in the matter. Their Academies have crowned with applause those works, which instruct us in the culture of vines, the nature of wool, of turf, and of the distempers incident to corn.

In Germany and Sweden, lectures upon agriculture are read in the universities; and the youth of those countries enjoy the advantage of gaining, while they rummage over heaps of scholastic learning,

ing, at least some knowledge of real use in life. The officers of the king of Sweden do not think it beneath them to fill the chairs of those universities, whilst the German nobility chuse rather to faunter away their time idly, in an antichamber, than to labour for the good of their country.

The King of Prussia, ever great in all his views, found the way to oblige his subjects to qualify themselves for his service, at least for preferment in it, by the study of agriculture.

In the university of Edinburgh, a professor was lately appointed to read lectures on agriculture, in which the Scotch, for several years past, have made very considerable progress.

Swift makes Gulliver relate to one of the kings of his imaginary country all the artifices of the European system of politics. "If," answers the king, after hearing him with great indifference, "I had a man, who knew how to make two ears of corn grow, where but one grew before, I should esteem him more than all your fine politicians put together."

It is to the English that the first progress of good agriculture is owing. The dearths, formerly so frequent in England, shewed this commercial and warlike people, that in order to execute their great designs of trade, they must first secure to themselves a subsistence independent of their neighbours.

After

After the long civil war between the unfortunate Charles I. and his parliament, England being exhausted, strenuous endeavours were made to repair her losses by an extensive commerce ; and in order to establish that commerce, good agriculture was made its basis. The learned eradicated old prejudices, by introducing better methods ; while the government made regulations favourable to the farmers. From that epoch may be dated the grandeur, the riches, and the power of England.

It is known, that a middling harvest in this country furnishes sufficient food for its numerous inhabitants for three years, and a good one, for five. England can by that means employ an infinite number of hands in arts and manufactures, as well as in the army and navy, without fear of wanting necessaries. “ That fear,” as a modern writer affirms, “ has, for a century past, stopt France in the middle of her conquests. Either an actual, or an impending dearth forces her to make peace. We know with what immense quantities of corn the English have, for many years past, furnished some provinces of France. Peace alone secures that resource. Dearth's weaken and depopulate Spain ; and those dearths are owing both to the discouragements the husbandman labours under, and to the melancholy state of neglected agriculture.”

C H A P. LXXXIX.

MISCELLANEOUS REMARKS ON AGRICULTURE.

LAND, in order to be fruitful, requires that the productions expected from it be suited to its nature. It is well known that all plants do not thrive equally in all soils. The experiments upon the several sorts of wheat, which grow in foreign countries, have not been sufficiently varied. The Syrian wheat succeeds very well in Germany. In Sweden several sorts of buck-wheat, brought from Siberia, are cultivated with advantage. If it were not for a kind of large millet, the sandy plains of Mesopotamia would not be sufficient for the support of their inhabitants.

The countries, where the climate permits the culture of rice, enjoy a great advantage. A single acre of land, planted with rice, feeds eight peasants in China.

Maize affords a still more healthy, and more abundant nourishment. A savage, going to war, easily carries his provision with him for two months. In Piedmont, this kind of corn is the principal food of the common people; and in the neighbourhood of the Rhine, in places, where it was difficult to raise wheat, vast fields are covered with maize, and this culture occasions a profitable trade, in the exchange

of cattle fattened by the maize, for the wheat which the adjacent districts produce in great abundance.

There are vegetables, which supply the place of corn, or at least alleviate the want of it. A certain plant, brought from America, feeds the common people even in the depths of the north, where one would have expected it to be a stranger. It is to be presumed, that even the most distant climates have natural productions, which might be familiarized with ours.

There can be no doubt, but that the culture of the most necessary of all provisions deserves our first attention. But in places, which are not favourable to the growth of corn, or which abound in it, might we not cultivate a greater proportion of those plants, which are absolutely necessary for our trade and manufactures? Hemp and flax are become almost as necessary to us as bread. Wet soils produce little corn, and madder is fond of them. Some provinces of France, and some districts of Germany, have gained riches by woad and the greening-weed.

All our fruit-trees are originally the productions of foreign countries. Our gloomy climates naturally produce none but wild fruits. We are rich only by the spoils of Asia. The vast regions of America spread before us a great variety of excellent fruits, which we may accustom to our soil. Hither-

to we have exhausted only her mines. Let us also accept of her more useful, and less dangerous offers.

The vine is an important object in general agriculture. Notwithstanding its importance, it is far from being brought to perfection. The great variety of vines natural to the southern countries, is only an ornament in the gardens of our curious, without being used to meliorate our wine. Our love of pleasure joined with the prevailing taste for oeconomics, ought to induce us to force our soil to furnish us with a liquor, the perfection of which would save us vast expences. Few places imitate the example of Champagne, which, by continual trials, a careful choice, and judicious mixture of the grapes, has attained the art of making its wines, so superior to those of former ages.

“ I have learnt in my travels,” says Mr. Mills, “ several secrets, which wine-merchants make use of to meliorate their wines. A certain prejudice prevails against those methods. They are called brewing, though strictly speaking what wine is not brewed? It is an artificial liquor, the goodness of which depends partly on the goodness of the grape, full as much on a lucky fermentation, and often on a judicious addition of means to assist that fermentation. If those means contain nothing disagreeable to the palate, nor prejudicial to the health, I see no
O reason

reason to exclaim against them. It is true, we have not yet fathomed the nature of fermentation ; we are yet to find the manner of directing it, and its concurring with the true mixture of the wine. Too strong, and too long a fermentation weakens it ; and if the fermentation is stopt too soon, the wine is unwholesome."

People complain of the scarcity of wood, an article absolutely necessary. Yet there are countries whose fertile plains are covered with forests ; plains which if converted into arable land, would yield greater profit, and be of service to population, by affording them larger means of subsisting. Whether this scarcity is real or imaginary, little care is taken to prevent it. Scarce any forests are planted. Yet nature must be seconded by art. By sowing, and by planting woods, lands might be better laid out, and trees chosen which grow quick, which are more suited to the nature of the soil, and which yield a greater quantity of wood.

There are in foreign countries, particularly the southern, useful trees, which might be familiarized to our climate, and would entirely enrich our forests. The chesnut, a native of Great-Tartary, and the Canadian tulip tree, adorn our garden-walks and alleys. The cedar, and several trees of Siberia thrive in Germany. We know well what a rich harvest M. Kalm brought from North-America. Upwards of fifty new sorts of trees bear the cold of Sweden

Sweden, and grow there perfectly well. It is not for want of wild trees of our own that we adopt foreign ones ; but because these last promise either a quicker growth, or useful fruits, or, besides their wood, are of advantage to our arts and manufactures. The wax-tree, planted in Europe, might create a new branch of commerce. It grows well in Germany. A surprising quantity of trees, natives of other climates, grow in the open fields of England and France.

C H A P. XC.

O N T A X E S.

THE art of levying money by taxes was so little understood in the sixteenth century, that, after the famous battle of Pavia, in which the French King was made prisoner, Charles V. was obliged to disband his victorious army, though consisting only of 24,000 men, because he had not the art to levy, in his extensive dominions, a sum necessary to keep it on foot.

So little knowledge was there in England of political arithmetic in the days of Edward III. that 1l. 2s. 4d. on each parish was computed to be sufficient for raising a subsidy of £50,000. It being found, that there were but 8700 parishes, exclusive

of Wales, the parliament, in order to raise the said subsidy, assessed on each parish 5l. 16s.

In imposing taxes, ought not the expence of living to be deducted, and the remainder considered as the only taxable subject? This mode was adopted in the state of Athens. The tax was not in proportion to the estate, but to what could be spared out of it; or, in other words, in proportion to the ability of the proprietor.

Ability, however, must not be estimated by what a man actually saves, which would exempt the profuse and profligate from paying taxes, but by what a man can pay, who lives with œconomy according to his rank. This rule is founded on the very nature of government. To tax a man's food, or the subject that affords him bare necessities, is worse than denying him protection: It starves him.

Hence the following proposition may be laid down as the corner stone to taxation-building, "That every man ought to contribute to the public revenue, not in proportion to his substance, but to his ability." This rule is not, perhaps, sufficiently regarded in British taxes; though nothing would contribute more to sweeten the minds of the people, and to make them fond of their government, than a regulation fraught with so much equity.

It

It is an article of importance in government to have ascertained, what proportion of the annual income of a nation may be drawn from the people by taxes, without impoverishing them. An eighth part is held to be too much. Husbandry, commerce, and population, would suffer.

Davenant says, that the Dutch pay to the public annually, the fourth part of the income of their country; and he adds that their strict œconomy enables them to bear that immense load, without raising the price of labour so high, as to cut them out of the foreign market. It was probably so in the Days of Davenant; but of late, matters are much altered. The dearness of living, and of labour, has excluded all the Dutch manufactures from the foreign market.

Before the French war, in King William's reign, England paid, in taxes, no more than a twentieth part of its annual income.

C H A P. XCI.

ON THE FOUNDATION OF TAXES.

THE celebrated Locke, in his essay on government, has suggested the solid foundation of taxes, viz. "That every one who enjoys his share of protection, should pay out of his estate his proportion for the maintenance of government."

The duties of sovereign and of subject are reciprocal; and common justice requires, that a subject, or any person, who is protected by a government, ought to pay for that protection. Similar instances, without number, of such reciprocal duties, occur in the laws of every civilized nation.

A man calls for meat and drink in a tavern. Is he not bound to pay, though he made no agreement beforehand? A man wafted over a river in a ferry-boat, must pay the common fare, though he made no promise. Nay, it is every man's interest to pay for protection. Government cannot subsist without a public fund. And what will become of individuals, when left open to every rapacious invader?

Thus taxes are implied in the very nature of government; and the interposition of sovereign authority is only necessary for determining the expediency of a tax; and the quota, if found expedient.

If

If it be asked, " By what acts a man is understood to claim protection of a government," it may be answered, " By setting his foot within the territory." If, upon landing at Dover, a foreigner be robbed, the law interposes for him as for a native. And as he is thus protected, he pays for protection, when he purchases a pair of shoes, or a bottle of beer.

The case is clear, with respect to a man, who can chuse the place of his residence. But what shall be said of children, who are not capable of choice, nor of consent? They are protected; and protection implies the reciprocal duty of paying taxes. As soon as a young man is capable of acting for himself, he is at liberty to choose other protectors, if those who have hitherto protected him be not to his taste.

An author of some note* maintains, " That the food and raiment, furnished to the society by husbandmen and manufacturers, are all that these good people are bound to contribute;—and supposing them bound to contribute more, it is not till others have done as much for the public."

At that rate, lawyers and physicians ought also to be exempted from contributing; especially those who draw the greatest sums, because they are supposed to do the most good. That argument, the suggestion of a benevolent heart, is no proof of an

enlightened understanding. The labours of the farmer, of the lawyer, of the physician, contribute not a mite to the public fund, nor tend to defray the expence of government.

The luxurious proprietor of a great estate has still a better title to be exempted than the husbandman ; because he is a great benefactor to the public, by giving bread to a variety of industrious people.

In a word, every man ought to contribute for being protected ; and if a husbandman is protected in working for himself one-and-fifty weeks yearly, he ought thankfully to work one week more for defraying the expence of that protection.

CHAP. XCII.

ON DIFFERENT SORTS OF TAXES.

A Tax laid on a man personally, for himself and family, is termed a *capitation-tax*. A tax laid on him for his property, is termed a *tax on goods*.

A capitation-tax goes upon an erroneous principle, as if all men were of equal ability. What prompts it is, that many men, rich in bonds and other moveables, which can easily be hid from public inspection, cannot be reached otherwise than by a capitation-tax.

Russia

Russia labours under a capitation-tax. Some years ago, a capitation-tax was imposed in Denmark, obliging even day labourers to pay for their wives and children. Upon the same absurd plan, a tax was imposed on marriage. One would be tempted to think, that population was intended to be discouraged.

A capitation-tax lies open to many objections. It cannot fail to raise the price of labour, a poisonous effect in a country of industry; for the labourer will relieve himself of the tax, by heightening his wages. It would be more prudent to lay the tax directly on the employer, which would remove the pretext for heightening wages.

The taxing of day-labourers, whether by capitation, or in any other manner, has beside an effect contrary to what is intended. Instead of increasing the public revenue, it virtually lessens it, by raising the pay of soldiers, sailors, and of every workman employed by government.

Taxes upon goods are of two kinds, viz. upon things consumable, and upon things not consumable.

With regard to the latter;—The land-tax in Britain, paid by the proprietor, according to an invariable rule, and levied with very little expence, is of all taxes the most just, and the most effectual.

The proprietor knowing beforehand the sum he is subjected to, prepares accordingly. And, as each

proprietor contributes in proportion to his estate, the tax makes no variation in their relative opulence.

In France, the land-tax seems to have been established on a very false foundation, viz. "That the clergy perform their duty to the state, by praying and instructing,—that the noblesse fight for the state,—and consequently, that the only duty left to the farmer, is to defray the charges of government."

This argument would hold, if the clergy were not paid for praying, nor the noblesse for fighting. Such a load upon the poorest members of the state, is an absurdity in politics.

"Were it related," observes a French writer, "in some foreign history, that there is a country extremely fertile, in a fine climate, enjoying navigable rivers, with every advantage for the commerce of corn; and yet the product is not sufficient for the inhabitants,—would not one conclude the people to be stupid and barbarous? And yet this is the case of France." He adds the true reason, which is, the discouragement husbandry lies under, by oppressive taxes.

It is a gross error to maintain, that a tax on land is the same with a tax on the product of land. The former, which is the English mode, is no discouragement to industry and improvements. On the contrary, the higher the value of land is raised, the less

less will the tax be in proportion. The latter, which is the French mode, is a great discouragement to industry and improvements; because the more a man improves, the deeper he is taxed.

The tenth part of the product of land, is the only tax that is paid in China. This tax, of the same nature with the tithe paid among us to the clergy, yields to the British mode of taxing the land itself, and not its product. It is, however, less exceptionable than the land-tax in France, because it is not arbitrary. The Chinese tax, paid in kind, is stored in magazines, and sold from time to time for maintaining the magistrates and the army, the surplus being remitted to the treasury. In case of a famine it is sold to the poor at a moderate price.

In Tonquin, there is a land-tax, which, like that in France, is laid upon the peasants, exempting people of condition, and the literati in particular. Many grounds, that bear not corn, contribute hay for the king's elephants and cavalry. The poor peasants are obliged to carry it to the capital, even from the greatest distance;—a regulation no less injudicious than slavish.

The window-tax, the coach-tax, and the plate-tax, come under the present head, being taxes upon things not consumable.

In Denmark, a farmer is taxed for every plough he uses. If the tax be intended for discouraging

extensive farms, it is a happy contrivance, agreeable to sound policy ; for small farms increase the number of temperate and robust people, fit for every sort of labour.

With regard to things consumable ;—The taxes that appear the least oppressive, because disguised, are what are laid on our manufactures. The tax is advanced by the manufacturer, and drawn from the purchaser as a part of the price. Thus with respect to our taxes on soap, shoes, candles, and other things consumable, the purchaser thinks he is only paying the price, and never dreams that he is paying a tax. To support the illusion, the duty ought to be moderate.

To impose a tax twenty times the value of the commodity, as is done in France on salt, raises more disgust in the people, as an attempt to deceive them, than when laid on without disguise. Such exorbitant taxes, which are paid with the utmost reluctance, cannot be made effectual, but by severe penalties.

Taxes on things consumable are attended with one signal advantage. They bear a proportion to the ability of the contributors, the opulent being commonly the greatest consumers. The taxes on coaches and on plate are paid by men of fortune, without loading the industrious poor. On that account, they are excellent. Being imposed, how-
ever,

ever, without disguise, they are paid with more reluctance by the rich, than taxes on consumption are by the poor.

A tax on consumption, however, must not be praised, as attended with no inconvenience. The retailer, under pretext of the tax, raises the price higher, than barely to indemnify himself; by which means the tax is commonly doubled on the consumer.

There is another inconvenience much more distressing, because it admits of no remedy, and because it affects the state itself. Taxes on consumption, being commonly laid on things of the greatest use, raise a great sum to the public, without much burdening individuals; the duty on coals, for example, on candles, on leather, on soap, on salt, on malt, and on malt-liquor.

These duties, however, carry in their bosom a slow poison, by raising the price of labour, and of manufactures. De Wit observes, that the Dutch taxes upon consumption have raised the price of their broad cloth forty *per cent*. Our manufactures, by the same means, are raised at least thirty *per cent*.

Britain has long laboured under this chronical distemper; which by excluding her from foreign markets, will not only put an end to her own manufactures, but will open a wide door to the foreign.

foreign, as smuggling cannot be prevented, where commodities imported are much cheaper than our own.

The Dutch taxes on consumption are exceedingly high ; and yet necessary, not only for defraying the expence of government, but for guarding their frontier, and, above all, for keeping out the sea ! The industry, however, and frugality of the people, enable them to bear that heavy burden, without murmuring. But other European nations have now acquired a share of the immense commerce formerly carried on by the Dutch alone. Their trade, accordingly, is on the decline ; and, when it sinks a little lower, the heavy taxes will undoubtedly depopulate their country.

Taxes on consumption are not equally proper in every case. They are proper in a populous country, like Holland ; because the expence of collecting is but a trifle, compared with the sums collected. But, in a country thinly peopled, such taxes are improper ; because the expence of collecting makes too great a proportion of the sums collected. In the highlands of Scotland, the excise on ale and spirituous liquors defrays not the expence of levying. The people are burdened, and the government is not supported. Perhaps the window-tax, in Scotland, lies open to the same objection.

A lottery is a tax entirely voluntary. An appetite for gaming, inherent even in savages, prompts multitudes to venture their money, in hopes of a high prize ; though they cannot altogether hide from themselves the inequality of the play. But it is well, that the selfish passions of men can be made subservient to the public good.

Lotteries, however, produce one unhappy effect. They blunt the edge of industry, by directing the attention to a more commodious mode of gain. At the same time, the money acquired by a lottery, seldom turns to account ; for what comes without trouble, goes commonly without thought.

C H A P. XCIII.

RULES FOR TAXING.

THE first rule is, That, wherever there is an opportunity of smuggling, taxes ought to be moderate ; for smuggling can never be effectually restrained, where the cheapness of imported goods is, in effect, an insurance against the risk : In which view, Swift humorously observes, that two and two do not always make four..

A duty of 15 per cent. upon printed linen, imported into France, encourages smuggling. A lower duty would produce a greater sum to the public

public, and be more beneficial to the French manufacturer.

Bone-lace, imported into France, is charged with a duty of 20 per cent. in order to favour that manufacture at home. Bone-lace, however, is easily smuggled, and the price is little higher than before.

To favour our own cambric manufacture, the importation of it is prohibited. The unhappy circumstance is, that fine cambric is easily smuggled. The price is great, and the bulk small. Would it not be more politic, to admit importation under a duty so moderate, as not to encourage smuggling. The duty applied for promoting our own cambric-manufacture, would in time so far improve it, as to put us above the hazard of rivalry, with respect at least to our consumption.

High duties on importation are immoral, as well as impolitic. For, is it not unjustifiable in a legislature, first to tempt, and then to punish for yielding to the temptation?

On this head it may be observed, that a tax upon a fashion, which can be laid aside at pleasure, cannot be much depended upon. In the year 1767, a duty was laid on chip-hats, worn at that time by women of fashion. They were instantly laid aside, and the tax produced nothing.

A second rule is, That taxes expensive in the levying ought to be avoided; being heavy on the
 2 people,

people, without a proportional benefit to the revenue. Our land-tax is admirable. It affords a great sum, levied at very little expence. The duties on coaches, and on gold and silver-plate, are similar. The taxes that are the most hurtful to trade and manufactures, such as the duties on soap, candles, leather, are expensive in levying.

A third rule is, To avoid arbitrary taxes. A tax laid on persons in proportion to their trade, or their prudence, must be arbitrary, even where strict justice is intended; because it depends on vague opinion or conjecture. Every man thinks himself injured; and the sum levied does not balance the discontent it occasions.

The tax laid on the French farmer, in proportion to his substance, is an intolerable grievance, and a great engine of oppression. If the farmer exert any activity in meliorating his land, he is sure to be doubly taxed.

Hamburgh affords the only instance of a tax on trade and riches, that is willingly paid, and that consequently is levied without oppression. Every merchant puts privately into the public chest the sum that, in his own opinion, he ought to contribute;—a singular example of integrity in a great trading town, for there is no suspicion of wrong in that tacit contribution. But this state is not yet corrupted by luxury.

Fourthly;

Fourthly ; As many vices, that poison a nation, arise from inequality of fortune, in order to remedy that inequality as much as possible, " Let the poor be relieved, and the rich burdened." Heavy taxes are easily borne by men of overgrown estates. Those proprietors especially, who wound the public, by converting much land from profit to pleasure, ought not to be spared. Would it not contribute greatly to the public good, that a tax of 50 pounds should be laid on every house that has 50 windows,—150 pounds on houses of 100 windows,—and 400 pounds on houses of 200 windows, By the same principle, every deer-park of 200 acres, ought to pay 50 pounds,—of 500 acres, 200 pounds,—and of 1000 acres, 600 pounds. Fifty acres of pleasure-ground should pay 30 pounds,—an 100 such acres, 80 pounds,—150 acres, 200 pounds,—and 200 acres, 300 pounds. Such a tax would have a collateral good effect. It would probably move high-minded men to leave out more ground for maintaining the poor, than they are commonly inclined to do.

Fifthly ; Every tax, which tends to impoverish the nation, ought to be rejected with indignation. Such taxes, contradict the very nature of government, which is to protect, not to oppress.

Whether taxes imposed on common necessities, which fall heavy upon the labouring poor, be of the kind now mentioned, deserves the most serious deliberation.

deliberation. Where they tend to promote industry, they are highly salutary. Where they deprive us of foreign markets, by raising the price of labour, and of manufactures, they are highly noxious.

When the expence of living equals, or nearly equals, what is gained by bodily labour, moderate taxes, renewed from time to time, after considerable intervals, will promote industry, without raising the price of labour; but permanent taxes, will unavoidably raise the price of labour, and of manufactures.

In Holland, the high price of provisions and of labour, occasioned by permanent taxes, have excluded from the foreign market every one of their manufactures, that can be supplied by other nations. Heavy taxes have annihilated their once flourishing manufactures of wool, of silk, of gold and silver, and many others. The prices of labour and of manufactures have, in England, been immoderately raised by the same means.

To prevent a total downfall of our taxes, several political writers hold, that the labouring poor ought to be disburdened of all taxes.

The poor-rates, however, have already produced such profligacy among the lower ranks in England, that to relieve them from taxes would probably make them work less, but would not make them work cheaper. It is vain, therefore, to think of a remedy against idleness and high wages, while the
 poo-

poor-rates subsist in their present form. Davenant pronounces, that the English poor-rates will, in time, be the bane of their manufactures. He computes, that the persons receiving alms in England, amounted to one million and two hundred thousand; the half of whom, at least, would have continued to work, had they not relied on parish-charities.

Were the poor-rates abolished, a general act of naturalization would not only augment the strength of Britain, by adding to the number of its people, but would compel the natives to work cheaper, and consequently to be more industrious.

If these expedients be not relished, the only one that remains for preserving our manufactures, is, to encourage their exportation by a bounty, such as may enable us to cope with our neighbours in foreign markets.

Lastly, "Let taxes, which require the oath of the party, be avoided." They are destructive of morals, as being a temptation to perjury. Few are so wicked, as to hurt others by perjury. There are not many of the lower ranks, however, that scruple much at perjury, when it prevents hurt to themselves. Consider the duty on candles. It is not only oppressive, as comprehending poor people, who make no candles for sale; but it is also subversive of morals, by requiring their oath, upon the quantity they make for their own use.

The

The manner of levying the salt tax in France, is indeed arbitrary, but it has not an immoral tendency. An oath is avoided ; and every master of a family pays for the quantity he is presumed to consume.

French wine is often imported into Britain as Spanish, which pays less duty. To check the fraud, the importer's oath is required ; and, if perjury be suspected, a jury is set upon him in the exchequer. This is horrid. The importer is tempted by a high duty on French wine to commit perjury, for which he is prosecuted in a sovereign court, open to all the world. He turns desperate, and loses all sense of honour. Thus custom-house oaths have become a proverb, as meriting no regard ; and corruption creeping on, will become universal.

Some goods imported pay a duty *ad valorem* ; and to ascertain the value, the importer's oath is required. In China, the books of the merchants are trusted without an oath. Why not imitate so laudable a practice ? If our people be more corrupted, perjury may be avoided, by ordaining the merchant to deliver his goods to any who will demand them, at the rate stated in his book ; with the addition of ten *per cent.* as a sufficient profit to himself.

C H A P. XCV.

ON EXCEPTIONABLE TAXES.

OUR forefathers seem to have had no notion of taxes, but for increasing the public revenue, without once thinking of the hurt that may be done to individuals.

In the reign of Edward VI. a poll-tax was laid on sheep. And so late as the reign of William III. marriage was taxed.

To this day, we have several taxes, that are more oppressive upon the people, than gainful to the public revenue. Multiplied taxes on the necessaries of life, such as candles, soap, leather, ale, salt, &c. as observed before, raise the price of labour, and consequently of manufactures. If they shall have the effect to deprive us of foreign markets, depopulation and poverty must ensue.

The salt-tax, in particular, is a very detrimental one. With respect to the other taxes mentioned, the rich bear the greatest burden, being the greatest consumers; but the share they pay of the salt-tax is very little, because they reject salt provisions. The salt-tax is still more absurd in another respect, salt being a choice manure for land. One would be amazed to hear of a law prohibiting the use of lime as a manure. He would still be more amazed to hear of the prohibition being extended to salt, which

which is a manure much superior ; and yet a heavy tax on salt, which renders it too dear for a manure, surprises no man. But the mental eye resembles that of the body. It seldom perceives but what is directly before it. Consequences lie far out of sight. During the present reign, however, the absurdity of with-holding from us a manure so profitable has been discovered, and remedied in part, by permitting English foul salt to be used for manure, on paying fourpence of duty per bushel.

The window-tax is more detrimental to the people, than advantageous to the revenue. In the first place, it encourages large farms, in order to save windows and houses. Whereas, small farms tend to multiply a hardy and frugal race, useful for every purpose. In the next place, it is a discouragement to manufactures, by taxing the houses in which they are carried on. Manufacturers, in order to relieve themselves as much as possible from the tax, make a side of their house but one window ; and there are instances, where in three stories, there are but three windows. And lastly, a very great objection to this tax is, that it burdens the poor more than the rich. A house, in a paltry village, that affords not five pounds of yearly rent, may have a greater number of windows, than one in London rented at fifty.

The plate-tax is not indeed hurtful to manufactures and commerce ; because plate converted

into money, may be the means of saving the nation at a crisis, and therefore ought to be encouraged, instead of being loaded with a tax.

On all pictures imported into Britain, there is a duty laid in proportion to their size. In order to rouse a genius for painting, our youth ought to have ready access to all good pictures. It is, indeed, so far lucky, that the most valuable pictures are not loaded with a greater duty, than the most paltry.

Fish, both salt and fresh, brought to Paris, pay a duty of 48 *per cent.* by an arbitrary estimation of the value. This tax is an irreparable injury to France, by discouraging the multiplication of seamen. It is beneficial, indeed, in one view, as it tends to check the growing population of that great city.

The duty on coals water-borne, is a great obstruction to many useful manufactures that require coals; and indeed to manufactures in general, by increasing the expence of coals, a very essential article in a cold country. No sedentary art nor occupation, can succeed in our climate, without plenty of fuel. One may, at the first glance, distinguish the coal counties from the rest of England, by the industry of the inhabitants, and by plenty of manufacturing towns and villages. Now, in many parts of Britain, that might be provided with coals by water, the labouring poor are deprived of that
comfort

comfort by the tax. Had cheap firing encouraged these people to prosecute arts and manufactures, it is more than probable, that at this day, they would be contributing to the public revenue, by other duties, much greater sums than are drawn from them by the duty on coals. At the same time, if coals must pay a duty, why not at the pit, where they are cheap? It is a capital blunder to lay a great duty on those, who pay a high price for coals, and no duty on those who have them cheap.

C H A P. XCVI.

ON TAXES FAVOURABLE TO COMMERCE.

NOTHING can set in a stronger light the political ignorance of former ages, than a maxim universally adopted, "That to tax exportation, or to prohibit it altogether, is the best means for having plenty at home. In Scotland, it was not thought sufficient to prohibit the exportation of corn, of fish, and of horses. The prohibition was extended to manufactures, such as linen-cloth, candle, butter, cheese, and shoes.

Oil was the only commodity, that, by the laws of Solon, was permitted to be exported from Africa. The figs of that country, which are delicious, came to be produced in such plenty, that there was

no consumption for them at home ; and yet the law prohibiting exportation was not abrogated.

Sycophant, denotes a person, who informs against the exporter of figs. But, the prohibition appearing absurd, sycophant became a term of reproach.

When Sully entered on the administration of the French finances, corn in France was at an exorbitant price, occasioned by a neglect of husbandry, during the civil wars. That sagacious minister discovered the secret of re-establishing agriculture, and of reducing the price of corn, which is, to allow a free exportation. So rapid was the success of that bold, but politic measure, that in a few years, France became the granary of Europe ; and, what at present may appear almost incredible, we find in the English records, in the year 1621, grievous complaints of the French underselling them in their own markets.

Colbert, who, fortunately for us, had imbibed the common error, renewed the ancient prohibition of exporting corn, hoping to have it cheap at home for his manufacturers. But he was in a very great mistake ; for that prohibition has been the chief cause of many famines in France, since that time. The corn-trade in France, by that means, lay long under great discouragements ; and the French ministry continued long blind to the interest of their country. At last, edicts were issued, authorizing the commerce of corn to be absolutely free, whether

whether sold within the kingdom, or exported. The generality, however, continued blind.

In the year 1768, the badness of the harvest having occasioned a famine, the distresses of the people were excessive, and their complaints universal. Without having taken into consideration the bad harvest, they attributed their misery to the new law. It was in vain urged, that freedom in the corn trade encourages agriculture. The popular opinion was adopted, even by most of the parliaments. So difficult is it to eradicate established prejudices.

In Turkey, about forty years ago, a grand visir permitted corn to be exported more freely than had been done formerly, a bushel of wheat being sold at that time under seventeen pence. Every nation flocked to Turkey for corn; and in particular, no fewer than three hundred French vessels, from 20 to 200 tons, entered Smyrna bay in one day.

The Janissaries and populace took the alarm, fearing that all the corn would be exported, and that a famine would ensue. In Constantinople they grew mutinous, and were not appeased till the visir was strangled, and his body thrown out to them. His successor, cautious of splitting on the same rock, absolutely prohibited exportation. In that country, rent is paid in proportion to the product; and the farmers, who saw no demand, neglected tillage. In less than three years, the bushel

of wheat rose to six shillings; and the distresses of the people became intolerable. To this day the fall of the grand visir is lamented.

We have improved upon Sully's discovery, by a bounty on corn exported, which has answered our most sanguine expectations. A great increase of gold and silver, subsequent to the said bounty, which has raised the price of many other commodities, must have also raised that of corn, had not a still greater increase of corn, occasioned by the bounty, reduced its price even below what it was formerly; and, by that means, our manufactures have profited by the bounty, no less than our husbandry.

The bounty is still more important in another respect. Our wheat can be afforded in the French markets cheaper than their own; by which, agriculture, in France, is in a languishing state. And, it is in our power, during a war, to dash all the French schemes for conquest, by depriving them of bread. This bounty, therefore, is our palladium, which we ought religiously to guard, if we would avoid being a province of France.

Between the years 1715 and 1755, there was of wheat exported from England to France, twenty-one millions of *septiers*, estimated at two hundred millions of livres. The bounty for exporting corn has sometimes amounted to 150,000 pounds for a single year. But this sum is not all lost to the revenue;

venue; for frequently our corn is exchanged with goods that pay a high duty on importation.

Some politicians object against this bounty for exporting wheat, as feeding our rival manufacturers cheaper than our own; which is doubtful, as the expence of exportation commonly equals the bounty. But, supposing it true, will the evil be remedied by withdrawing the bounty? On the contrary, it will discourage manufactures, by raising the price of wheat at home. It will, besides, encourage French husbandry, so as, in all probability, to reduce the price of their wheat below what we afford it to them.

In France, labour is cheaper than in England, the people are more frugal, and they possess a better soil and climate. What have we to balance these signal advantages, but our bounty? And, were that bounty withdrawn, one would not be surprised to see French corn poured in upon us, at a lower price than it can be furnished at home.

Public granaries, which rest on a principle contrary to that of exportation, are hurtful in a fertile and extensive country like Britain, being a discouragement to agriculture; but are beneficial in great towns, which have no corn of their own. Switzerland could not exist without her granaries.

It is not always true policy to discourage the exportation of our own rude materials. Liberty of

exportation gives an encouragement to produce them in greater plenty at home ; which consequently lowers the price to our manufacturers. But, where the exportation of a rude material will not increase its quantity, the prohibition is good policy. For example, the exporting of rags for paper may be prohibited ; because liberty of exporting will not occasion one yard more of linen cloth to be consumed.

The exportation of British manufactures to America, ought to meet with such encouragement, as to prevent them from rivalling us. It would be a great blunder to encourage their manufactures, by imposing a duty on what we export to them.. We ought rather to give a bounty on exportation ; which, by underselling them in their own markets, would quash every attempt to rivalship.

The measures laid down, for regulating the importation of foreign commodities have different views. One is, to keep down a rival power ; in which view, it is prudent to prohibit importation from one country, and to encourage it from another. It is judicious in the British legislature to load French wines with a higher duty than those of Portugal ; and, in France, it would be a proper measure to prefer the beef of Holstein, or of Russia, before that of Ireland ; and the tobacco of the Ukraine, or of the Palatinate, before that of Virginia.

ginia. But such measures of government ought to be sparingly exercised, for fear of retaliation.

There is no cause more cogent for regulating importation, than an unfavourable balance. By permitting French goods to be imported free of duty, the balance against England was computed to be a million yearly. In 1678, that importation was regulated, which, soon turned the balance of trade in favour of England.

The British regulations, with regard to the importation of goods, should be contrived for the encouragement of our own manufactures. This, it must be acknowledged, is generally the case. To favour a new manufacture of our own, it is proper to lay a duty on the same manufacture imported. To encourage the art of throwing silk, the duty on raw silk imported is reduced, and that of thrown silk is heightened.

For encouraging the exportation of commodities formerly imported, one method practised with success, is, to restore to the merchant, the whole, or part of the duty paid at importation; which is termed a *drawback*. This in particular is done with respect to tobacco; which by that means can be afforded to foreigners at twopence halfpenny per pound, when the price at home is eightpence halfpenny. Tobacco, being an article of luxury, it was well judged to lay a heavier duty on what is consumed at home, than on what is exported.

Upon the same principle, the duty that is paid on the importation of coffee and cocoa, is wholly drawn back when exported. But as China earthen ware is not entitled to any encouragement from us, and as it is an article of luxury, it gets no drawback.

The exporter of rice from Britain, first imported from America, is entitled to draw back but half the duty paid on importation. Rice imported duty-free might rival our wheat crop. But the whole duty ought to be drawn back on exportation. It ought to be afforded to our neighbours at the lowest rate, partly to rival their wheat-crop, and partly to encourage our settlements which produce rice.

A French author remarks, that in no country are commercial regulations better contrived than in Britain; and instances the following particulars.

First; Foreign commodities, such as may rival their own, are prohibited, or burdened with duties.

Secondly; Their manufactures are encouraged by a free exportation.

Thirdly; Raw materials, which cannot be produced at home; cochineal, for example, indigo, &c. are imported free of duty.

Fourthly; Raw materials of their own growth, such as wool, fuller's earth, &c. are prohibited to be exported.

Fifthly; Every commodity has a free course through the kingdom, without duty.

And

And Lastly; Duties paid on importation, are repaid on exportation.

This remark, is for the most part well founded; and yet the facts above set forth will not permit us to say, that the English commercial laws have as yet arrived at perfection.

C H A P. XCVII.

ON MAN AS THE ARBITER OF HIS OWN FORTUNE.

MAN has a range allowed him in the creation peculiar to himself alone; and he seems to have had delegated to him a certain portion of the government of the natural world. Revolutions, indeed, are brought about in various regions by the universal laws of motion, uncontrouled, and uncontroulable by any human power. But, under certain limitations, soil and climate are subject to his dominion; and the natural history of the terraqueous globe varies with the civil history of nations.

In the descriptions of ancient and modern Europe, the same countries appear to be essentially different. The climates beyond the Atlantic are altered since the days of Columbus. But such differences and alterations are more rightly imputed to

the conduct and operations of men, than to any mutability in the course of nature.

Nor are such alterations confined to those settlements on which additional culture has been bestowed. The arts of tillage and agriculture have a more diffusive and general effect. The country of Italy, though not better cultivated than in the days of the Romans, has undergone, since those days, a vicissitude of temperature, which has arisen, in all probability, from the more improved state of Germany and France.

The temperature of climates throughout America, so different from that which predominates under the same parallels of latitude in the ancient world, is not entirely to be ascribed to fixed and permanent causes, but rather to the more recent existence of nations in the new hemisphere, and the inferior cultivation it has consequently received from the hand of man. Thus much is certain,—that by opening the soil, by clearing the forests, by cutting out passages for the stagnant waters, the new hemisphere becomes auspicious, like the old, for the growth and population of mankind.

The history of the colonies, and commercial establishments of the European nations, testifies that, in almost every corner, a healthful and salubrious climate is the sure effect of persevering and well-conducted labour. Nor is the opposite effect chargeable merely on the neglect of culture, and the
atmosphere

atmosphere, that overhangs the desert, alone malignant. The malignancy is often directly chargeable on manners, on police, and on civil establishments. In some of the most malignant climates on the Guinea coast, the impure habits of the natives have been assigned as the efficient cause. The exhalations of a negro village, negroes only can endure.

“ The plague,” says Dr. Chandler in his travels into the East, “ might be wholly averted from these countries, or at least prevented from spreading, if lazarettos were erected, and salutary regulations enforced, as in some cities of Europe. Smyrna, would be affected as little perhaps, as Marseilles, if the police were as well modelled. But this is the wisdom of a sensible and enlightened people.”

A species of necessity, however, in some countries, conducts mankind to certain decorums in life and manners, which wait, in other countries, the ages of taste and refinement. The Dutch, certainly are not the most polite among the European nations; yet the nature of their civil settlement, as if anticipating the dictates of refinement, introduced among them from the beginning, a degree of order in their police, and of cleanliness in their household oeconomy, not surpassed, perhaps unequalled, by any other people.

On a principle of health, an attention to cleanliness, is more or less incumbent on all communities.

It presents an emblem of inward purity, and is dignified, perhaps not improperly, in some systems of ethics, with the appellation of a moral virtue.

But with all imaginable precaution on this score, the confluence of numbers, in a crowded scene, is generally productive of disease. Hence pestilential distempers are so often bred in the camp, and usually march in the train of war. And hence the establishment of great cities, under the best regulated police, can be demonstrated, from the bills of mortality, to be destructive, in a high degree, of population and public health.*.

But all these examples relate to artificial, not to natural climate ; and there seems to be little ground, in the history of the terraqueous globe, to associate, with any fixed and immutable constitution of the atmosphere, the happiness or perfections of the human species.

Yet, local prejudices every where abound. The most accomplished citizens, in nations and ages the most accomplished, have not been exempted from their sway. Plato returned thanks to the immortal Gods that he was an Athenian, not a Theban born,—that he breathed on the southern, not on the northern side of the Asopus.

But, if Athens was eminent for refinement, there were other causes than the climate. And, if the

the Boeotians were dull to a proverb, it was only temporary; for Pindar, Pelopidas, and Epaminondas shall vindicate the soil.

Thus much we may with certainty affirm, that soil and climate, if not altogether foreign to the mind, are, like the mind, susceptible of improvement, and variable, in a high degree, with the progress of civil arts. Settlements, abandoned by one colony, have been re peopled with success by another. Projects, thought desperate in days of ignorance, have been resumed, and conducted to a prosperous issue, in more enlightened times. Individuals have often failed in their attempts, for want of public encouragement. Public enterprizes have failed for want of concurrence among nations. Establish, then, concert and union among mankind;—all regions become habitable, and the elements almost cease to rebel.

There seems to be a certain regimen of life, suited to the local circumstances of mankind, which is suggested to them at first by instinct, or is the slow result of experience. A different regimen recommended in a similar manner, is best adapted to their circumstances in another region; and sudden or injudicious alterations in the modes of life, are among the fatal consequences, that attend the commerce of nations.

The transference too of epidemical distemper, from region to region, is another consequence of
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that commerce, no less destructive. Distempers, local in their origin, being thus diffused over the globe, become, when transplanted, more formidable than in their native soils. The plague, so desolating when it invades Europe, commits not equal havoc in the East. The malady, imported by Columbus, was less virulent in the American climates. On the other hand, the small pox, introduced into those climates by Europeans, threatened the depopulation of the new hemisphere.

Time, however, which corrects the effects of migrations, seems also to correct the virulence of the transplanted distemper. Either the human constitution opposes it with new vigour, or the art of medicine combats it with more success,—or the poison, by being long blended with the surrounding elements ceases to be so destructive.

It may also be observed, that some disorders leave impressions in the constitution, which prevent in future the possibility of similar annoyance. Hence the expediency of inoculation, a practice first introduced into Europe from the East, which solicits disease through a safer channel, as a preservative against its eventual attack, in all the circumstances of its native malignancy. But returning from this digression, let us survey the farther tendency of the commercial arts.

The natural productions of one corner supply the demands of luxury in another, and the most distant
tribes

tribes may approximate each other, in their animal temperament, by mutual traffic. Even the natives of the most penurious soil, may exchange the rude simplicity of their ancestors, for the extravagance of the most pampered nations.

Penury and wealth, simplicity and prodigality, indolence and toil, create constitutional distinctions among the different orders of citizens. For the impression of the commercial arts is often conspicuous in the upper departments of life, before it reaches those of inferior condition. But the circle gradually widens.—The exclusive possession of opulence cannot be long maintained ; and the fluctuation, so natural to commercial states, must disseminate the effects over the public at large.

In the last period of the Roman government, the different provinces of the empire became contaminated with the luxury of the East, whose influence on the bodily temperament may have contributed, along with moral and political distemper, to the success of the northern armies.

“ Sævior armis
 “ *Luxuria incubuit, victumque ulciscitur orbem.*”

Such consequences, however, imply no imputations on the arts of civil life. The food, the raiment, the occupation of the polished citizen, may be as innocent as those of the savage. The latter is even guilty of excesses, which disappear in
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the age of refinement. The immoderate use of intoxicating liquors, is generally most predominant in the ruder forms of society. It is relinquished in the progress of refinement, and seems to be scarce compatible with the elegant luxuries of a highly cultivated people.

A propensity, indeed, to vicious excess may be accidentally combined in the same character, with a high relish for the luxuries of life. But the passions themselves are totally distinct. A proneness to luxury, with an aversion to all riot or excess, is no uncommon character; and a proneness to excess, with an aversion to luxury, though more rare, is by no means without example.

A striking example occurs in the character of the famous Irish rebel, who, in the reign of Elizabeth, assumed the rank and appellation of King of Ulster. "He was a man," says the historian, "equally noted for his pride, his violence, his debaucheries, and his hatred of the English nation. He is said, to have put some of his followers to death, because they endeavoured to introduce the use of bread, after the English fashion. Though, so violent an enemy to luxury, he was extremely addicted to riot, and was accustomed, after his intemperance had thrown him into a fever, to plunge his body into mire, that he might allay the flame which he had raised by former excesses."

Luxury,

Luxury, according to its species and direction, may be pronounced to be, either salutary or destructive. By its connexion with industry and active exertion, it is productive of the noblest effects. It is the parent of ingenious arts, and conducts a people to honour and distinction.

Objects, however, which are not only innocent, but beneficial in the pursuit, may prove dangerous in the possession; and the acquisitions of national virtue may become the occasion of its fall.

Habits there surely are, incident to different periods of society, which tend to enervate the body, and to vitiate the blood. The mechanical springs of life rest not on the energy of one cause, but on the combination of many, possessing often opposite and qualifying powers. It were improper, therefore, to expatiate on the intensity of one principle, without attending to others, which serve to heighten or to mitigate its force.

One writer magnifies the power of climate; another the effects of aliment; a third the efficacy of labour or rest, and the peculiar influence of certain modes of life. But these circumstances are relative to each other, and it is the result of the combination, with which we are alone concerned. It was well answered by the Spartan to the King of Syracuse, who found fault with the coarseness of the Spartan fare, "In order," says he, "to make these

these victuals relish, it is necessary to bathe in the Eurotas."

By the progress of agriculture and rural œconomy in our climates, that mode of œconomy is become the most easy, which was formerly the most difficult. And it were well, perhaps, for mankind, in most countries of Europe at this day, if the great and opulent exchanged, with those of inferior condition, many of the daily articles of consumption.

Vegetable aliment seems to be better adapted to the more indolent class of citizens. The labouring part of society require a larger proportion of animal food. But it is often difficult for the meaner sort to procure for themselves suitable subsistence, and more difficult for their superiors to abstain from improper gratifications.

"If I were not Alexander," said the Prince of Macedon, "I would chuse to be Diogenes." Yet the generality of people would rather imitate the conduct of Aristippus, who, for the pageantry of a court, and the pleasures of a luxurious table, could forego independence, and descend from the dignity of philosophy to the adulation of Kings.

The conduct, however, of mankind, in uncorrupted times, was more conformable to nature; and their reason taught them to form such habits and combinations, as were most congruous with their external condition. Different systems of policy grow out of these combinations; and usages
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and laws, relative to climate, make a capital figure in ancient legislation.

Even superstition, on some occasions, has proved a guardian of public manners, and a useful auxiliary to legislative power. Abstinence from the flesh of animals,—abstinence from wine,—frequent purifications—and other external observances among the Indians, Persians, and Arabians, how absurd soever if transferred to other countries, formed on the occasions, and in the countries where they were instituted, important branches of political œconomy.

The Egyptians prescribed by law a regimen for their Kings. In some instances, certain rules of proportion were established; and suitable to the different classes of citizens, there was a special allotment of aliment prescribed by the religion of Brama.

The Christian dispensation alone, divine in its origin, and designed to be universal, descends not to local institutions; but, leaving the details of policy to the rulers of nations, inculcates only those pure and essential doctrines, which are adapted to all climates and governments.

Yet the *Vedam*, the *Shaster*, the *Koran*, and other ancient codes, which afford in one view, so striking examples of credulity and fanaticism, may be regarded in another, as monuments of human sagacity.

Happy

Happy had it been for the world, if the founders of religion and government had separated, in such cases, the pure gold from the dross, and connived only at illusions connected with public felicity.

It were often happy for rude tribes, if they were taught a local superstition, how absurd soever in its details, that tended to preserve the simplicity of their morals, and debarred them, in many instances, from adopting foreign customs and manners.

How fortunate would it have been for the Indian tribes, throughout the continent of North America, if they had been debarred, by the solemn sanctions of a religion, as absurd as that of Mahomet, from the use of intoxicating liquors,—a practice derived to them from European commerce, and which contributes, in the new hemisphere, more, perhaps, than any other cause, to the destruction, and what is worse, to the debasement of the species.

Our voyages of discovery, which in some respects are so honourable, and calculated for noble ends, have never yet been happy for any of the tribes of mankind visited by us. The vices of Europe have contaminated the natives, who will have cause to lament for ages, that any European vessel ever touched their shores.

Moral depravity is a fertile source of physical ills to individuals, to families, and to nations. Nor are the ills inherent only in the race, which bred
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the disorder. They spread from race to race, and are often entailed, in all their malignity, on posterity. Thus hereditary distemper has a foundation in the natural, as in the moral world. Nor does this reflect upon eternal justice, or breed confusion in the universe, or derogate from the sum of its perfections. If we are punished for the vices, we are rewarded too for the virtues of our fathers.

These opposite principles of exaltation and debasement, tend to the equilibrium of the system. They serve also to a farther end. They serve to draw closer the ties of humanity, to remind us of our duty, by reminding us of the relations of our being,—and of those indissoluble connexions and dependencies, which unite us with the past, and will unite us with all succeeding ages.

C H A P. XCVIII.

ON THE ORIGIN AND PROGRESS OF RELIGION.

DEITY is an awful object, and has ever roused the attention of mankind. But they, being incapable of elevating their ideas to all the sublimity of his perfections, have too often brought down his perfections to the level of their own ideas. This is more particularly true, with regard to those nations, whose religion had no other foundation but the natural

tural feelings, and more frequently the irregular passions of the human heart, and who had received no light from heaven respecting this important object. In deducing the history of religion, therefore, we must separate what is human, from what is divine ; what had its origin from particular revelations, from what is the effect of general laws, and of the unassisted operations of the human mind.

Agreeably to this distinction, we find, that in the first ages of the world, the religion of the eastern nations was pure and luminous. It arose from a divine source, and was not then disfigured by human fancies or caprice. In time, however, these began to have their influence. The ray of tradition was obscured ; and among those tribes, which separated at the greatest distance, and in the smallest numbers, from the more improved societies of men, it was altogether obliterated.

In this situation, a particular people were selected by God himself, to be the depositories of his law and worship. But the rest of mankind were left to form hypotheses upon these subjects, which were more or less perfect, according to an infinity of circumstances, which cannot properly be reduced under any general heads.

The most common religion of antiquity was *Polytheism*, or the doctrine of a plurality of gods. The polytheism of the ancients, however, seems
neither

neither to have been the fruit of philosophical speculations, nor of disfigured traditions, concerning the nature of the divinity. It seems to have arisen during the rudest ages of society, while the rational powers were feeble, and while mankind were under the tyranny of imagination and passion. It was built, therefore, solely upon sentiment. As each tribe of men had their heroes, so likewise they had their gods. Those heroes,—who led them forth to the combat,—who presided in their councils,—whose image was engraved on the fancy, whose exploits were imprinted on their memory, even after death enjoyed an existence in the imagination of their followers.

The force of blood, of friendship, of affection, among rude nations, is what we cannot easily conceive. But the power of imagination over the senses is what all men have in some degree experienced. Combine these two causes, and it will not appear strange, that the image of departed heroes should have been seen by their companions, animating the battle, taking vengeance on their enemies, and performing the same functions, which they performed when alive.

An appearance so unnatural would not excite terror among men, unacquainted with evil spirits, and who had not learned to fear any thing but their enemies. Two orders of gods, therefore would be established

established, the propitious and the hostile ;—the gods who were to be loved, and those who were to be feared.

But time, which wears off the impressions of tradition, the frequent invasions, by which the nations of antiquity were ravaged, desolated, or transplanted, made them lose the names, and confound the characters of those two orders of divinities, and form various systems of religion, which, though warped by a thousand particular circumstances, gave no small indication of their first texture, and original materials. For, in general, the gods of the ancients gave abundant proof of human infirmity. They were subject to all the passions of men. They partook even of their [partial affections, and, in many instances, discovered their preference of one race or nation to all others. They did not eat and drink the same substances with men. They lived on nectar and ambrosia. They had a particular pleasure in smelling the steam of the sacrifices, and they made love with a ferocity unknown in northern climates. The rites by which they were worshipped naturally resulted from their character.

It must be observed, however, that the religion of the ancients was not much connected, either with their private behaviour, or with their political arrangements. If we except a few fanatical societies, the greater part of mankind were extremely
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ly tolerant in their principles. They had their own gods, who watched over them. Their neighbours, they imagined, also had theirs; and there was room enough in the universe for both to live together in good fellowship, without interfering or jostling with one another.

C H A P. XCIX.

THE OPINIONS OF SEVERAL TRIBES OF MANKIND CONCERNING THE DEITY.

THE belief of one supreme benevolent Deity, and of subordinate deities benevolent and malevolent, is, and has been, more universal, than any other religious creed.

The different savage tribes in Dutch Guiana, agree pretty much in their articles of faith. They hold the existence of one supreme Deity, whose chief attribute is benevolence; and to him they ascribe every good that happens. But, as it is against his nature to do ill, they believe in subordinate malevolent beings, who occasion thunder, hurricanes, earthquakes, and who are the authors of death, diseases, and of every misfortune. To these evil spirits, termed in their language *Yowaboos*, they direct every supplication, in order to avert their malevolence; while the supreme Deity

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is entirely neglected. So much more powerful, among savages, is fear than gratitude.

The negroes of Benin and Congo, and the inhabitants of Java, of Madagascar, and of the Molucca islands, have all a notion of a supreme Deity, creator and governor of the world; and of inferior deities, some good, some ill. These are supposed to have bodies, and to live in much the same manner as men do, but without being subjected to any distress.

The Chinguliese, a tribe in the island of Ceylon, acknowledge one God creator of the universe, with subordinate deities, who act as his deputies. Agriculture is the peculiar province of one, and navigation of another. The creed of the Tonquinese is nearly the same.

The inhabitants of Otaheite believe in one supreme Deity; and in inferior deities without end, who preside over particular parts of the creation. They pay no adoration to the supreme Deity, thinking him too far elevated above his creatures to concern himself with what they do. They believe the stars to be children of the sun and moon. Thus they easily account for an eclipse.

The North-American savages acknowledge one supreme Being or giver of life, to whom they look up as the source of good, and from whom no evil can proceed. They acknowledge also a bad spirit

spirit of great power, by whom all the evils that befall mankind are inflicted. To him they pray in their distresses; begging that he will either avert their troubles, or mitigate them. They acknowledge, besides, good spirits of an inferior degree, who, in their particular departments, contribute to the happiness of mortals. But they seem to have no notion of a spirit divested of matter. They believe their gods to be of the human form, but of a nature more excellent than man. They believe in a future state; and that their employments will be similar to what they are engaged in here, but without labour or fatigue; in short, that they shall live for ever in regions of plenty, and enjoy, in a higher degree, every gratification they delight in here.

According to Arnobius, certain Roman deities presided over the various operations of men. Puta assisted at pruning trees, and Peta in requesting benefits. Nemestrinus was god of the woods. Nodutus ripened corn, and Terensis helped to thresh it. Vibilia assisted travellers. Orphans were under the care of Orbona, and dying persons of Nænia. Ossilago hardened the bones of infants. Mellonia protected bees, and bestowed sweetness on their honey.

The ancient Goths, and several other northern nations, acknowledged one supreme Being, and

at the same time worshipped three subordinate deities,—Thor, reputed the same with Jupiter, Oden, the same with Mars,—and Friga, the same with Venus.

Socrates, taking the cup of poison from the executioner, held it up toward heaven, and pouring out some of it as an oblation to the supreme Deity, pronounced the following prayer: “ I implore the immortal God, that my translation hence may be happy.” Then, turning to Crito, he said, “ O Crito! I owe a cock to *Æsculapius*; pay it.” From this incident we find that Socrates, soaring above his countrymen, had attained to the belief of a supreme benevolent Deity. But in that dark age of religion, such purity is not to be expected from Socrates himself, as to have rejected subordinate deities, even of the mercenary kind.

CHAP. C.

OF SUPERSTITIOUS OPINIONS.

IN days of ignorance, the conduct of Providence is very little understood. Far from having any notion, that the government of this world is carried on by general laws, every important event is attributed to an immediate interposition of the Deity.

As the Grecian gods were thought to have bodies like men, and like men to require nourishment, they were imagined to act like men, forming short-sighted plans of operation, and varying them from time to time, according to exigencies. Even the wise Athenians had an utter aversion to philosophers, who attempted to account for effects by general laws.

An eclipse being held a prognostic given by the gods of some grievous calamity, Anaxagoras was accused of Atheism, for attempting to explain the eclipse of the moon by natural causes. He was thrown into prison, and with difficulty was relieved by the influence of Pericles. Protagoras was banished from Athens for maintaining the same doctrine.

Agathias, beginning at the battle of Marathon, sagely maintains, that from that time downward,

there was not a battle lost, but by an immediate judgment of God, for the sins of the commander, or of his army, or one person or other.

Our Saviour's doctrine, with respect to those who suffered by the fall of the tower of Siloam, ought to have opened men's eyes ; but superstitious eyes are not easily opened.

It is no less inconsistent with the regular course of Providence, to believe, as many formerly did, that in all doubtful cases the Almighty, when appealed to, never fails to interpose in favour of the right side.

The inhabitants of Constantinople, in the year 1284, being split into parties about two contending patriarchs, the Emperor ordered a fire to be made in the church of St. Sophia, and a paper for each party to be thrown into it ; never doubting, but that God would save from the flames the paper given in for the party, whose cause he espoused. But to the utter astonishment of all beholders, the flames paid not the least regard to either.

The same absurd opinion gave birth to the trial by fire, by water, and by single combat. And, it is not a little remarkable, that such trials were common among many nations, who had no intercourse with one another. Even the enlightened people of Indostan try crimes, by dipping the hand of a suspected person in boiling oil.

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In cases of doubtful proof, they have recourse in the kingdom of Spain, as in many other countries, to artificial proofs. One is to walk bare-foot through fire. As the Siamites are accustomed to walk bare-footed, their soles become hard; and those who have skill have a good chance to escape without burning. The art is to set down their feet on the fire with all their weight, which excludes the air, and prevents the fire from burning. Another proof is by water. The accuser and accused are thrown into a pond; and he who keeps the longest under water is declared to be in the right.—Such uniformity is there, with respect even to superstitious opinions.

The Emperor Otho I. observing the law-doctors to differ about the right of representation in land-estates, appointed a duel; and the right of representation gained the victory.

Appian gravely reports, that when the city of Rhodes was besieged by Mithridates, a statue of the Goddess Isis was seen to dart flames of fire upon a bulky engine raised by the besiegers to overtop the wall.

It is equally erroneous to believe, that certain ceremonies will protect one from mischief. In the dark ages of Christianity, the signing with a figure of the cross, was held not only to be an antidote against the snares of malignant spirits, but

to inspire resolution for supporting trials and calamities. For which reason no Christian, in those days, undertook any thing of moment, till he had used that ceremony.

It was firmly believed in France, that a gold or silver coin of St. Louis, hung from the neck, was a protection against all diseases; and we find accordingly a hole, in every remaining coin of that king, for fixing it to a ribband.

During the minority of Charles VIII. of France, the three estates, in the year 1484, supplicated his Majesty, that he would no longer defer the being anointed with the holy oil, as the favour of Heaven was visibly connected with that ceremony. They affirmed, that his grandfather Charles VII. never prospered till he was anointed; and that Heaven afterward fought on his side, till the English were expelled out of his kingdom.

That ridiculous ceremony is kept up to this day. So great is the power of custom. It is performed in the following manner. — “ The Grand Prior of St. Remi opens the holy phial, and gives it to the Archbishop, who, with a golden needle, takes some of the precious oil, about the size of a grain of wheat, which he mixes with consecrated ointment. The King then prostrates himself before the altar on a violet coloured carpet, embroidered with *fleurs de lis* while they pray. Then the

the King rises, and the Archbishop anoints him on the crown of the head, on the stomach, on the two elbows, and on the joints of the arms. After several anointings, the Archbishop of Rheims, the Bishops of Laon and Beauvais close the openings of the shirt. The High Chamberlain puts on the tunic and the royal mantle. The King then kneels again, and is anointed in the palms of his hands."

The high altar of St. Margaret's church, in the island of Icolmkill, was covered with a plate of blue marble finely veined; which has suffered from a superstitious conceit, that the smallest bit of it will preserve a ship from sinking. It has accordingly been carried off piece-meal; and at present there is scarce enough left to make the experiment.

In the Sadder, a book abounding with foolish ceremonies, certain prayers are enjoined when one sneezes, or makes water, in order to chase away the devil.

Cart-wheels, in Lisbon, are composed of two clumsy boards, nailed together in a circular form. Though the noise is intolerable, the axles are never greased. The noise, say they, frightens the devil from hurting their oxen.

Nay, so far has superstition been carried, as to found a belief, that the devil, by magic, can controul the course of Providence.

In the capitularies of Charlemagne, in the canons of several councils, and in the ancient laws of Norway, punishments are enacted against those who are supposed able to raise tempests, termed *Tempestarii*.

During the time of Catharine de Medicis, there was in the court of France a jumble of politics, gallantry, luxury, superstition, and Atheism. It was common to take the resemblance of enemies in wax, in order to torment them, by roasting the figure at a slow fire, and pricking it with needles. If an enemy happened, in one instance of a thousand, to pine and die, the charm was established for ever.

Sorcery and witchcraft were so universally believed in England, that in a preamble to a statute of Henry VIII. in the year 1511, it was set forth, "That smiths, weavers, and women, boldly take upon them great cures, in which they partly use sorcery and witchcraft."

The first printers, who were Germans, having carried their books to Paris for sale, were condemned by the parliament to be burnt alive as forcerers; and did not escape punishment but by a precipitate flight. It had, indeed, much the appearance of sorcery, that a man could write so many copies of a book, without the slightest variation.

Superstition flourishes in times of danger and dismay. During the civil wars of France and England

land, superstition was carried to extravagance. Every one believed in magic, charms, spells, sorcery, and witchcraft. The most absurd tales past current as gospel truths. All the world is acquainted with the history of the Duchess of Beaufort, who was said to have made a compact with the devil, to procure Henry IV. of France for her lover. This ridiculous story was believed through all France, and is reported as a truth by the Duke of Sully. Superstition must have certainly been at a high pitch, when that great man was infected with it.

James Howel, eminent for knowledge, and for the figure he made, during the civil wars of England, relates, as an undoubted truth, an absurd fiction concerning the town of Hamelen, that the devil with a bagpipe enticed all the rats out of the town, and drowned them in a lake; and because his promised reward was denied, that he made the children suffer the same fate.

In an age of superstition, men of the greatest judgment are infected. In an enlightened age, superstition is confined among the vulgar. Would one imagine, that the great Louis of France is an exception? It is hard to say, whether his vanity, or his superstition was the most eminent. The Duke of Luxembourg was his favourite, and his most successful general. In order to throw the Duke out of favour, his rivals accused him of

having a compact with the devil. The King permitted him to be treated with great brutality, on evidence no less foolish and absurd, than that on which old women were, some time ago, condemned as witches.

A very singular effort of absurd superstition, is a persuasion, that one may controul the course of Providence, by a promise or bargain.

A tribe of Tartars in Siberia, named by the Russians *Baravinskoi*, have in every hut a wooden idol, about eighteen inches high, to which they address their prayers for plenty of game in hunting, promising it, if successful, a new coat, or a new bonnet. This sort of bargain, however ridiculous, is perhaps more excusable in mere savages, than what is made with the Virgin Mary by enlightened Roman Catholics; who, upon condition of relieving them from distress, promise her a waxen taper to burn on her altar.

There is no end of superstition in its various modes. In dark times, it was universally believed, that by certain forms and invocations, the spirits of the dead could be called upon to reveal future events.

A lottery in France, gainful to the government and ruinous to the people, gives great scope to superstition. A man, who intends to purchase tickets-must fast six and thirty hours-must repeat a
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certain number of *Ave-Maries* and *Pater-Nosters*, must not speak to a living creature,—must not go to bed,—must continue in prayer to the Virgin and to saints, till some propitious saint appear, and declare the numbers that are successful to him. The man, fatigued with fasting, praying and, expectation, falls asleep. Occupied with the thought he had when awake, he dreams that a saint appears and mentions the lucky numbers. If he be disappointed he is vexed at his want of memory ; but trusts in the saint as an infallible oracle. He falls asleep again. Again he sees a vision ; and is again disappointed.

Lucky and unlucky days were, in ancient times, so much relied on, as even to be marked in the Greek and Roman calendars.

The Tartars never undertake any thing of moment on a Wednesday. That day is considered by them as very unlucky.

The Nogayan Tartars hold every thirteenth year to be unlucky. They will not even wear a sword that year, believing that it would be then death ; and they maintain that none of their warriors ever returned, who went upon an expedition in one of these years. They pass that time in fasting and prayer, and during it they never marry.

The inhabitants of Madagascar have days fortunate and unfortunate, with respect to the birth of children. They destroy without mercy every child, that is born on an unfortunate day.

There are unlucky names, as well as unlucky days. Julien Cardinal de Medicis, was inclined to keep his own name. But it being observed to him by the cardinals, says Guichardin, that the popes, who retained their own name, had all died within the year, he took the name of Clement, and was Clement VII.

As John was held an unlucky name for a king, John, heir to the crown of Scotland, was persuaded to change his name into Robert; and he was Robert III.

C H A P. CI.

ON THE CHRISTIAN RELIGION.

CHристианITY derived its origin from heaven. It made its way among mankind, by the miracles wrought in confirmation of it, which proved the divine mission of its author, and by the sublimity of its doctrine and precepts. It required not the aid of human power. It sustained itself by the truth and wisdom, by which it was characterised. But in time it became corrupted by the introduction of worldly maxims, and by the ambition

bition of the clergy ; which at length occasioned the elevation, and exorbitant claims of the bishop of Rome.

The management of whatever related to the church, being naturally conferred on these who had established it, first occasioned the elevation, and then the domination of the clergy, and afterwards of the bishop of Rome, over all the members of the Christian world.

It is impossible here to describe all the concomitant causes, some of which were very delicate, by which this species of universal monarchy was established.

The bishops of Rome,—by being removed from the controul of the Roman emperors, then residing in Constantinople,—by borrowing, with little variation, the religious ceremonies and rites established among the heathen world,—by working, in various ways, on the credulous minds of barbarians, by whom that empire began to be dismembered,—and by availing themselves of every circumstance which fortune offered,—slowly erected the fabric of their antichristian power, at first an object of veneration, and afterwards of terror to all temporal princes.

The causes of its happy dissolution are more palpable, and operated with greater activity. The most efficacious was the rapid improvement of arts, government,

government, and commerce, which, after many ages of barbarity, made its way into Europe.

The scandalous lives of those, who called themselves the ministers of Jesus Christ,—their ignorance and tyranny,—the desire natural to sovereigns of delivering themselves from a foreign yoke,—the opportunity of applying to national objects the immense wealth, which had been diverted to the service of the church, in every kingdom of Europe, conspired with the ardour of the first reformers, and hastened the progress of the Reformation.

The unreasonableness of the claims of the church of Rome was demonstrated. Many of their doctrines were proved to be equally unscriptural and irrational. Some of their absurd mummeries and superstitions were exposed, both by argument and ridicule.

The services of the reformers, in this respect, give them a just claim to our veneration. But, involved as they had themselves been in darkness and superstition, it was not to be expected, that they should be able wholly to free themselves from errors. They still retained an attachment to some absurd doctrines, and preserved too much of the intolerant spirit of the church, from which they had separated themselves.

With all their defects, they are entitled to our admiration and esteem. The reformation, begun
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by Luther in Germany, in the year 1517, and which took place in England, in the year 1534, was an event highly favourable to the civil, as well as to the religious rights of mankind.

C H A P. CII.

ON RELIGIOUS WORSHIP, FORMS, AND CEREMONIES.

THE Deity is the author of our existence, and therefore we owe him gratitude. He is the governor of the world, and therefore we owe him obedience. Upon these duties is founded the obligation we are under to worship him.

But heart-worship alone is not sufficient. In order to convince our fellow-creatures, that we have a grateful sense of the divine beneficence, it is incumbent upon us to worship him in public, as well as in private. The principle of devotion, like most of our other principles, is capable of being much strengthened by cultivation and exercise. Devotion is communicative, like joy or grief; and by mutual communication, in a numerous assembly, it is greatly invigorated.

Forms and ceremonies give a lustre and dignity to a prince in his court. They are necessary in a court of law, for the sake of order, regularity, and dispatch of business. In religious worship they promote

promote seriousness and solemnity. At the same time, in every one of these a just medium ought to be preserved between too many and too few.

With respect to religious worship in particular, superfluity of ceremonies quenches devotion, by occupying the mind too much upon externals. The Roman-Catholic worship is crowded with ceremonies. It resembles the Italian opera, which is all sound, and no sentiment.

The church of England could easily spare several of the Romish ceremonies, which were retained by the reformers in compliance with vulgar prejudice, that as many as possible might be thereby induced to renounce the great errors of popery.

The presbyterian form of worship is rational and simple,—perhaps too simple for the populace. It is however, very proper for philosophers, and men of sense.

It may not be improper here to observe, that external show figures greatly in dark times, when nothing makes an impression but what is visible.

A German traveller*, speaking of Queen Elizabeth, thus describes the solemnity of her dinner. “ While she was at prayers, we saw her table set out in the following solemn manner. A gentleman

* Hentzner.

man entered the room bearing a rod, and along with him another who had a table-cloth, which, after they had both kneeled three times with the utmost veneration, he spread upon the table, and after kneeling again, they both retired.

“Then came two others, one with the rod again, the other with a salt-cellar, a plate and bread. When they had kneeled, as the others had done, and placed what was brought upon the table, they too retired, after performing the same ceremonies that the first had done.

“At last came an unmarried lady, (we were told she was a Countess) and along with her a married one, bearing a tasting-knife. The former, who was dressed in white silk, after having prostrated herself three times, in the most graceful manner, approached the table, and rubbed the plates with bread and salt, with as much awe as if the Queen had been present.

“When they had waited there a little while, the yeomen of the guard entered, bareheaded, cloathed in scarlet, with a golden rose upon their backs, bringing in, at each turn, a course of twenty-four dishes served in plate chiefly gilt. These dishes were received by a gentleman in the same order they were brought, and placed upon the table, while the lady-taster gave to each of the
guard

guard a mouthful to eat of the particular dish he had brought, for fear of any poison.

“ During the time that this guard, which consists of the tallest and stoutest men, that can be found in all England, were bringing dinner, twelve trumpets, and two kettle-drums made the hall ring for half an hour together.

“ At the end of this ceremonial, a number of unmarried ladies appeared, who, with particular solemnity, lifted the meat off the table, and conveyed it into the Queen’s inner and more private chamber, where, after she has chosen for herself, the rest goes to the ladies of the court.”

Forms were greatly regarded among the old Romans. Dresses were appropriated to different ranks. They had lictors, axes, bundles of rods, and other ensigns of power. Military merit was rewarded with triumphs, ovations, crowns of gold, leaves, and other decorations.

Such appearances strike the multitude with respect and awe. They are indeed despised by men of plain sense; but they regain their credit with philosophers.

Excessive courage, the exertion of which is visible, was the heroism of the last age:—“ I shall never esteem a king,” said the great Gustavus Adolphus, “ who in battle does not expose himself like a private man.”

CHAP. CIII.

ON HUMAN NATURE.

WRITERS of a sweet disposition, and warm imagination, hold, that man is entirely a benevolent being, and that every man ought to direct his conduct for the good of all, without regarding himself but as one of the number.*

Those of a cold temperament, and contracted mind, hold him to be an animal entirely selfish; to evince which, examples are accumulated without end†.

Neither of these systems is that of nature. The selfish system is contradicted by the experience of all ages, affording the clearest evidence, that men frequently act for the sake of others, without regarding themselves, and sometimes in direct opposition to their own interest.

Whatever wire-drawn arguments may be urged for the selfish system, as if benevolence were but *refined selfishness*, the emptiness of such arguments will clearly appear when applied to children, who know no refinements. In them, the rudiments of the social principle are no less visible, than of the selfish principle. Nothing is more common, than mutual good-will and fondness between children,

* Lord Shaftesbury.

† Helvetius.

aren. This must certainly be the work of nature; for to reflect upon what is one's interest, is far above the capacity of children.

However much selfishness may prevail in action, man cannot be entirely selfish, when all men conspire to put a high estimation upon generosity, benevolence, and other social virtues. Even the most selfish are disgusted with selfishness in others, and endeavour to hide it in themselves. The most zealous patron of the selfish principle will not venture to maintain that it renders us altogether indifferent about our fellow-creatures. Laying aside self-interest, with every connection of love and hatred, good fortune happening to any one gives pleasure to all, and bad fortune happening to any one is painful to all.

Man is, in fact, a complex being, composed of principles, some *benevolent*, some *selfish*; — and these principles are so justly blended in his nature, as to fit him for acting a proper part in society.

“Many moralists,” says a judicious writer, “enter so deeply into one passion or bias of human nature, that, to use the painter’s phrase, they quite overcharge it. Thus I have seen a whole system of morals founded upon a single pillar of the inward frame; and the entire conduct of life and all the characters in it accounted for, sometimes from superstition, sometimes from pride,

and most commonly from interest. They forget how various a creature it is they are painting ; how many springs and weights, nicely adjusted and balanced, enter into the movement, and require allowance to be made for their several clogs and impulses, ere you can define its operation and effects."

THE END.

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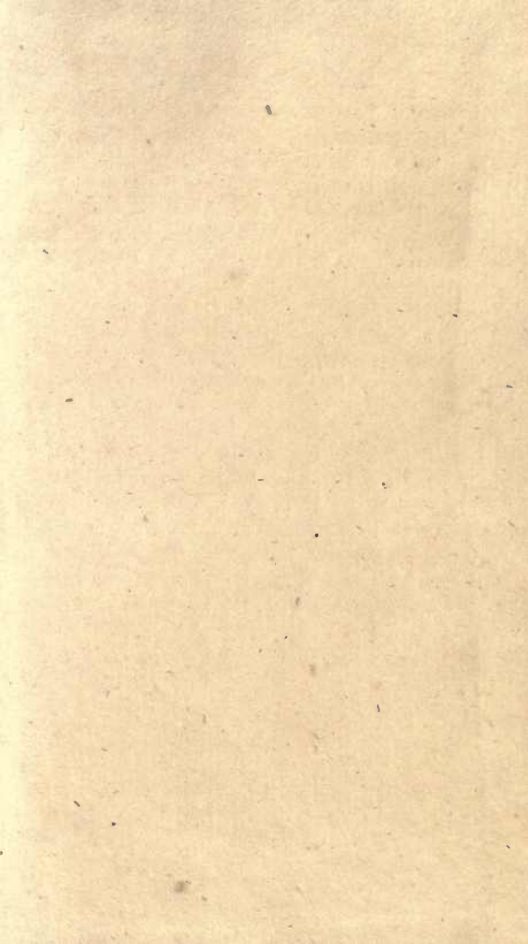
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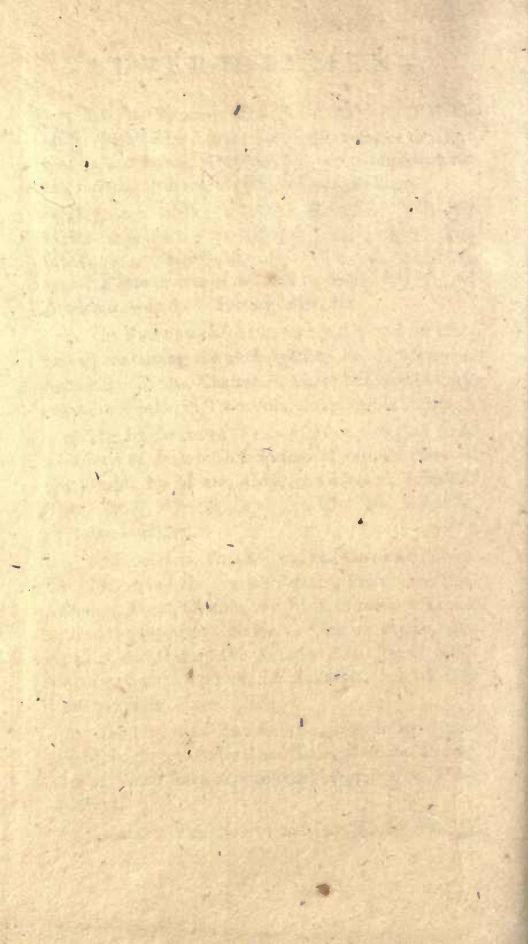
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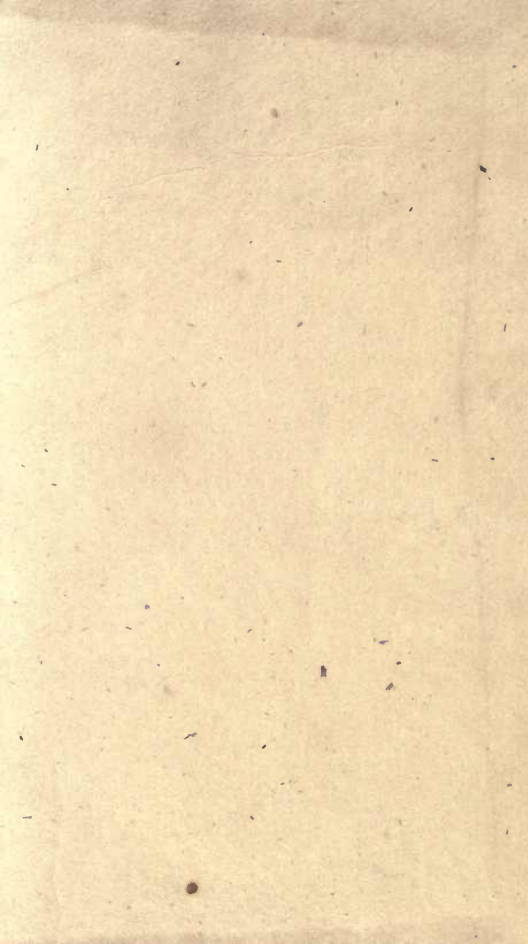
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